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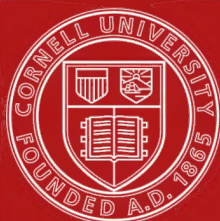
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THE SOURCES
OF THE FIRST TEN BOOKS OF
AUGUSTINE'S DE CIVITATE DEI

By
S. ANGUS

PRINCETON

1906.

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THE SOURCES
OF THE FIRST TEN BOOKS OF
AUGUSTINE'S DE CIVITATÈ DEI

A THESIS

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY S. ANGUS, M.A.

Exspectabat enim fundamenta habentem
civitatem cuius artifex et conditor Deus.

PRINCETON

1906.

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SPECIAL ABBREVIATIONS USED.

BE—Benedictine Edition (in Migne).

DCD—De Civitate Dei.

RD—The last sixteen books (Rerum Divinarum) in Varro's
Antiquitates.

NOTE.

The following treatise—the work of three happy years—was not at first intended as a thesis for a doctor's degree, but has been converted from its original purpose.

It was started in the first place at the suggestion of Professor A. F. West, and it is due to his personal encouragement that it has been completed. I wish to offer him my sincere thanks for having read through all my work in MS, for calling my attention to some things I had overlooked, and for the help derived from his own MS notes. Thanks are also due to Professors Winans and Westcott for suggestions; also to Dr. E. C. Richardson, Librarian of Princeton University, and to Rev. J. H. Dulles, Librarian of Princeton Theological Seminary, for having procured for me so many books I wished to consult.

S. A.

Classical Seminary,
Princeton University,
March, 1906.

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1. In preparing this thesis it was necessary to read of Augustine's writings the following entire : *De Civitate Dei*, *Confessiones*, *De Doctrina Christiana*, *De Urbis Excidio*, *Retractationes*, and all his exegetical and controversial works ; and in part also the *Epistulae* (especially the letters to Jerome, Marcellinus and Paulinus) and *Sermones* ; also the following entire : Livy (with the *Epitomes*), Florus and Eutropius, Velleius Paterculus, Valerius Maximus, Sallust, Cicero's philosophical and rhetorical works, Quintus Curtius, Justin, Orosius, and the remains of Varro and Porphyry ; also most of Aulus Gellius, Apuleius, Minucius Felix, Lactantius, Plotinus, Hyginus, and parts of Plutarch, Plato, Tertullian, Arnobius, Cyprian, Rufinus, Paulinus of Nola, Eusebius, Ambrose, Ausonius, Symmachus, Procopius, Sozomen and Socrates ; beside consulting other ancient writers incidentally.

2. The list given below excludes standard writers of general reference, such as Zeller, Mommsen, Milman, Gibbon, Villemain, Gregorovius, Ozanam, Boissier and Bury ; as well as editions of Augustine and the other ancient writers consulted. An asterisk is prefixed to a few which have been found to be of especial importance.

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INTRODUCTORY.

This thesis has three parts. The first attempts to exhibit completely, and in detail under each author, all the ascertainable literary sources, except the Bible, used by Augustine in the first ten books of *The City of God*. This part on the Literary Sources has been written to include the sources as given by Dombart and Hoffmann, and in addition the conclusions I have worked out in the second part of this thesis,—the Annotations to Books I–X. In order to do so I have gone over every case where a literary source is required, and have searched all the extant sources to which Augustine could have had access, and several to which he could not, or did not, have access. In the Annotations, which are almost exclusively restricted to the sources not specified in Dombart, when I quote from, or refer to, the writings of Valerius Maximus, Velleius Paterculus, Julius Obsequens, also to Plutarch, Porphyry, Plotinus and Plato in Greek, and others *not mentioned in the part on the Sources*, it is not to be supposed that these are suggested as sources for Augustine's knowledge. They are given simply for fulness of detail, or because they have preserved for us information once found in sources used by Augustine but now no longer extant. For example when Plutarch is quoted, it is because he either confirms Livy (Augustine's source for the particular place), or because he has preserved for us information which was found in portions of Livy now lost, and of which we have only the later epitomes.

Similarly Julius Obsequens has been quoted to confirm Livy's own work or to supply the missing part required.

The Annotations on books I–X contain matter which could not be treated of in the part on the Sources. The fact that the Annotations has partly the same aim as the part on the Sources may excuse the frequent cross-references, and the perhaps too frequent repetition of the same Latin passages. These latter have been given for the sake of fulness and for convenience of the reader. Each part is intended to supplement the other. Biblical passages and references have not been touched upon, as Dombart gives them almost complete. I have, however, added one instance which he has not recorded.

The text adopted as the basis for working has been that of Dombart (2 vols., Leipzig, 1877–'92), not without reference to Hoffmann's text. The former is referred to by *page* and *line* throughout the notes; and the pair of heavy-faced numbers given at the edge of the page before each note also refers to Dombart's text.

In the Annotations I have not mentioned any of the references given in Dombart, except occasionally for some particular purpose. As Dombart did not make any special study of the sources, there are but few cases where there is occasion to quote his references, and all such I hope have been acknowledged. Dombart himself took his references chiefly from Duebner as we learn from his own words: *Notas locorum ab Augustino ex aliis libris allegatorum prope omnes ex editione Duebneri, qui in hac operis parte diligentissime versatus est, mutuatus sum. Ad fontes unde Augustinus hauriebat accuratius indagandos, cum mihi neque tempus neque vires suppetere, hoc negotii aliis relinquendum putavi* (praef. p. x).

For the acknowledged fragments of Varro, where nothing more could be added, reference is made to the editions of

Francken, Schwarz and Agahd; but one fragment not noticed by these I have discussed and assigned to Varro.

Most of the fragments of Porphyry, to be found in the ten books of *City of God* which lie within the scope of this thesis, have not hitherto been collected and specifically assigned to their respective books. I have collected them and attempted to assign each to its source in the light of all evidence I could find.

The necessity for the third part of this thesis—the part on Augustine's Knowledge of Greek—was suggested by Augustine's references to Plato, Porphyry and Plotinus in the DCD. I have not followed any authority here. Besides reading the limited literature on this subject, it was necessary to go over all the *Confessions* and *City of God* and all his exegetical and controversial works, as well as several others, with a view to collect the principal evidence bearing upon that subject.

For the convenience of readers some of the principal theses maintained are excerpted and printed together at the end. A table of such errata as have been noticed is added.

Finally great care has been taken to avoid mistakes in references, but it is to be feared some slips may still remain uncorrected.

And now may this slight though laborious contribution to the explanation of Augustine's masterwork be commended to readers in his own closing words: *Quibus parum vel quibus nimium est, mihi ignoscant; quibus autem satis est, non mihi, sed Deo mecum congratulantes agant.*

S. A.

I. LITERARY SOURCES OF AUGUSTINE.

De Civitate Dei I-X.

We shall take up first those Sources which Augustine himself mentions as having known, and secondly those Sources which, though not mentioned by him, we have evidence to show he used.

A. SOURCES MENTIONED BY AUGUSTINE.

I. Among these we find the names of pagan poets all of whom were Latin except Homer.

1. CLAUDIAN.

In DCD V. 26 he mentions Claudian and quotes from him two verses in praise of Theodosius from the *De tertio consulatu Honorii*. He has either given the quotation from memory, as we find he has quoted elsewhere, DCD V. 8, and omitted the line *fundit ab antris | Aeolus armatas hiemes cui*, or else this line was not found in his manuscript if he had one. But it is more likely that he has erred in the quotation, as *cui* occurs at the same place in both lines and passing from the first *cui* to the word following the second *cui* gives a hexameter line. He says of Claudian *a Christi nomine alienus*, and this testimony of his should be accepted as we cannot reasonably conclude from Claudian's poems that he was a Christian; and Orosius supports the opinion of Augustine, speaking of Claudian as *poeta quidem eximius sed paganus pervicacissimus*. The above is the only place in all the writings of Augustine where he mentions Claudian.

2. ENNIUS.

This poet he knew through the writings of Cicero, see DCD II. 21, where he cites Ennius from the *De Republica* of Cicero. But he had a larger knowledge of Ennius than this, for in *De Trinitate* 13. 3.6 he quotes a verse of Ennius—found again, slightly different, in *Ep.* 231.3—which cannot be found

in all the works of Cicero. From DCD VII. 27 we gather that he knew Ennius' translation of the *ἱέρα ἀναγράφη* of Euhemerus: et quae ad hanc rem pertinentia consequuntur, totam de hoc Euhemerus pandit historiam quam Ennius in Latinum vertit eloquium, unde quia plurima posuerunt qui contra huius modi errores ante nos vel Graeco sermone vel Latino scripserunt, non in eo mihi placuit inmorari—a passage which suggests that Augustine knew more about the Euhemerus of Ennius than he could have got by solely consulting the only place in Cicero where the same translation is referred to (*De Natura Deorum* I. 42. 119.): Quid? qui aut fortis aut claros aut potentis viros tradunt post mortem ad deos pervenisse, eosque esse ipsos quos nos colere precari venerarique soleamus, nonne expertes sunt religionum omnium? quae ratio maxime tractata ab Euhemero est quem noster et interpretatus et secutus est praeter ceteros Ennius. In spite of the similarity between this passage and that of Augustine, still Augustine's own words quae ad hanc rem pertinentia consequuntur and non in eo mihi placuit inmorari lead us to infer he knew more about this subject than is found in Cicero, if he had seen fit to dwell upon it.

3. HORACE.

There are three quotations in the DCD. In DCD I. 3 Augustine quotes Horace (naming him): secundum illud Horatii

Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem.

Testa diu.

Evidently he knew his Horace well enough to quote some familiar commonplaces. In DCD V. 13 he mentions and quotes Horace against the Romans. Augustine there cites him Ep. 1. 1. 36 to show that Horace held the same views as he himself did on *amorem laudis vitium esse*, and again, Odes 2. 2. 9, *ad reprimendam dominandi libidinem ita cecinit*.

4. LUCAN.

There are six quotations in DCD. That Augustine used Lucan we are not at all surprised, as Lucan's poem was in itself a rebuke to the Romans, painting in the darkest colours the decadent state of Rome, the corruption of politics, private enmity, public calamity, the horrors of civil war, the dubious attitude toward religion. The pre-prevailing hopelessness of Lucan about his country would find such expression as would suit Augustine to use in his arguments against the pagans. In DCD I. 12 he quotes him (Phar. 7. 819) in connection with the argument for the comparative unimportance of burial, and in III. 13 for the civil war between Caesar and Pompey. In III. 27 he quotes Lucan in proof of the terrible vengeance taken by Sulla on his entry into Rome. In DCD X. 16 he quotes him (Phar. 6.506) for witchcraft.

5. PERSIUS.

In DCD II. 6 Augustine cites Persius (Sat. 3.66) as an example of the moral lessons which the people ought to hear, but do not hear, at public spectacles, and in the next chapter (II. 7) for a description of passion.

6. TARENTIANUS MAURUS.

In DCD VI. 2 (see also DCD vol. 2, p. 257.22) he quotes a hendecasyllabic verse from the poet Terentianus Maurus in praise of the great learning of Varro. Terentianus was an African, like Augustine himself, who may have used as a text-

book the poem of Terentianus, *De litteris, syllabis, pedibus, metris*. In *De utilitate credendi* 7.17 Augustine says *Nulla imbutus poetica disciplina Terentianum Maurum sine magistro attingere non auderes*.

7. TERENCE.

Though Augustine has elsewhere often mentioned and quoted Terence, he does so only once in DCD I-X, namely II.7, where he cites from the *Eunuchus* (584).

8. VALERIUS SORANUS.

Augustine did not know Valerius Soranus directly, as he found in Varro the two verses he cites from him in support of *Iovis omnia plena* (DCD VII. 9).

9. VIRGIL.

Of all the poets mentioned by Augustine he made the most frequent and extensive use of Virgil. He quotes him about seventy times in the DCD—more than the total of his quotations from all the other poets. The quotations are *classed* most heavily in the opening five books. He tells us of his boyish interest in the story of Aeneas (*Conf.* I. 13. 21 sq); and for Virgil he has the greatest praise. Augustine knew his Virgil intimately. He says of him (DCD I.3) *teneris ebibitus animis non facile oblivione possit aboleri*. He quotes from the *Aeneid*, the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*, but far most frequently from the *Aeneid*. Augustine quotes Virgil for Roman history and mythology in DCD I. 2, III. 2, III. 11, III. 13, III. 14, III. 16, VI. 27; for the pride and high estate of Rome in DCD *praef.*, I. 6, V. 12; for the helplessness of the gods of Rome to protect their worshipers and their need of their worshipers to protect them in DCD I.3: *ecce qualibus diis urbem Romani servandam se commisisse gaudebant*, I. 4, III. 7, III. 31. In DCD II.22 he quotes Virgil with sarcastic reference to the gods being offended at the morals of the citizens; and for the moral deteri-

oration of Rome in DCD III. 10. For the dangers and immorality arising from the Roman religion he cites the favorite poet of the Romans against themselves in DCD I. 19, where those who died by suicide are represented by Virgil as having an unhappy existence in the under world; in VIII. 19 for the evils of *magicae artes*, and in X 10 about the many-shaped Proteus. In DCD IV. 9, IV. 10, VII. 9 he quotes him for the all-permeating influence of Jupiter; compare also DCD IV. 11. In DCD V. 18 he cites him to prove that Brutus who slew his own sons for the sake of his country was *infelix*. In DCD VI. 1 the words *solent enim esse ad risum faciles* are an echo of Virgil Ecl. 3. 9 *sed faciles nymphae risere*. In DCD IX. 16 Augustine probably cites Virgil's *clarissima mundi lumina* indirectly from Apuleius *De deo Socratis* chap. 1. In DCD VII. 9 he cites the line *felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas* with reference to *Deus est, inquit, habens potestatem causarum quibus aliquid fit in mundo*; he quotes him in DCD IX. 4 to describe perfect composure of mind. In X. 30 he shows how Propyry has refuted one of the doctrines of Virgil in regard to purified souls being called to taste of Lethe. In X. 27 Augustine quotes from the fourth eclogue of Virgil as prophetic of the coming glory of the Kingdom of Christ—*poetice quidem quia in alterius adumbrata persona, veraciter tamen si ad ipsum referas*. Lastly we notice what we may term an etymological use of Virgil, in DCD V. 19 from Aen. 7. 266 for the use of the word *tyranni*; *non pessimi atque improbi reges, sed vetere nomine fortes dicti*, and again in X. 1 for *coloni* from Aen 1.12.

10. HOMER.

As for Homer, Augustine had read him, though distasteful, in his school days (Conf. 1. 14. 23). Yet he mentions or quotes him only four (or five) times in the DCD, never in Greek, always in Latin, and does not seem to have made any

extensive use of him. In DCD III. 2 he tells us Homer makes Neptune oppose and Apollo favor the Trojans. In DCD V. 8 he quotes two verses *quos Cicero in Latinum vertit*. He probably found these lines in the *De Fato* of Cicero; twice more he refers to Homer on the authority of Cicero, and once on the authority of Varro. In DCD IX. 1 it is a question whether *Iovem . . . ab Homero fateantur nuncupatum* is found in our Homer, except by implication in *Iliad* I. 222. I do not believe that this statement of Augustine has been made from direct knowledge of Homer, as *fateantur* seems to be against this. I think Augustine took it from Lactantius *Div. Inst.* 4. 27. 15. See note p. 368. 16.

II. Turning now from the poets used and named by Augustine in *De Civitate Dei* 1-x to the prose writers named we find much greater variety. Some of them call for little or no notice. Those mentioned by name in books 1-x are (in alphabetical order) Apuleius, Cicero, Aulus Gellius, Justinus, Labeo, Livy, Plato, Pliny, Plotinus, Pomponius, Porphyry, Sallust, L. Annaeus Seneca, Tertullian and Varro.

1. APULEIUS.

The use of Apuleius is almost exclusively confined to the parts of the DCD which discuss Neoplatonism. The first mention in the DCD occurs in VIII. 12: *in utraque autem lingua, id est et Graeca et Latina, Apuleius Afer extitit Platonicus nobilis*. Augustine mentions the *De deo Socratis* of Apuleius in DCD VIII. 14: *unum scripsit librum cuius esse titulum voluit de deo Socratis*. This is the work from which Augustine has quoted most, and the one which he has most severely criticised. In DCD VIII. 14 the earlier part of the chapter (before mention of Apuleius occurs) is evidently taken from that author. Augustine uses the quote-word *inquiunt* twice (p. 341. 10 and 23), and the subject of gods, demons and men, and of their respective places and

relations, is what we find in the *de deo Socratis*, and in line 30 he says *quae licet apud alios quoque reperiantur, Apuleius. . . . de hac resola scripsit librum.*

Augustine then briefly explains the subject matter of the *de deo Socratis* in some general statements. The whole fourteenth chapter is taken in substance from that work. The fifteenth chapter is largely a criticism of the same. In it he still refers to the same author as we see from *inquiunt* (p. 344. 3) and *Apuleius. . . . dicit.* (p. 344. 22). In chap. 16 he begins *De moribus ergo daemonum cum idem Platonicus loqueretur* and then gives quotations mostly word for word from Apuleius and follows these by a criticism.

In chap. 17 he treats of the *perturbationes* to which Apuleius granted the demons were subject, and shows how unworthy such beings are of worship who are moved by all the passions of humanity; *iste Apuleius* (p. 347. 7). In chap. 18 the criticism of the same work is continued. This same work was in Augustine's mind in chapters 20, 21, 22.

In DCD IX. 3 he again quotes from the *de deo Socratis* and proceeds to criticism, and chap. 4 is connected with this, because the review of opinions of philosophers on *de his animi motibus*, *πάθη* or *perturbationes* arises out of the quotation from Apuleius in the preceding chapter, so that chapters 4 and 5 really continue the criticism. In chap. 6 he again names Apuleius.

In chap. 7 he takes up a new subject from Apuleius, namely the distinction of the functions of gods and demons. This is continued (with quotations) in chap. 8 and criticised in chap. 9. Chap. 10, where Augustine introduces the opinion of Plotinus, is a criticism on Apuleius' work, for Augustine has kept him still in mind, as he begins chap. 11 with *dicit* referring to Apuleius. Chap. 12 gives large quotations from the *de deo Socratis* with Augustine's criticism which is also continued in chap. 13, and after an excursus devoid of all literary citation in chap. 14 and 15, he returns in chapter 16 to the same author.

In DCD X. 9 (ad fin.) he again refers to the *de deo Socratis*, though not mentioning that work. In X. 27 there is another reference to the same work.

We thus see that Augustine was thoroughly conversant with the *de deo Socratis* of Apuleius, that he has given large quotations from it and attacked it with severe criticism.

He was also acquainted with the *Asclepius*, or *Dialogus Hermetis Trismegisti*, though he does not refer to it so often or quote so much from it as from the *De deo Socratis*. He refers first to it in DCD VIII. 23 where he also gives large extracts; and in chap. 24 he gives a long quotation and then a criticism, and so again in chap. 26. In DCD IV. 2 he refers to and quotes from the *De Mundo*. Though Augustine has not quoted from the *Apologia*, or *De Magia*, it is likely he had read it: he mentions it in connection with magic arts in DCD VIII. 19 *extat oratio qua crimen artium magicarum a se alienum esse defendit; seque aliter non vult innocentem videri nisi ea negando quae non possunt ab innocente committi*. These words seem to show that he had read it enough to know the method of Apuleius' defense. From Apuleius Augustine no doubt got much general information on theology and philosophy which he does not specifically mention.

2. CICERO.

Cicero is one of the most important of Augustine's sources in DCD I-X. He mentions him by name often: Compare DCD II. 9, II. 13, II. 14, II. 21, II. 27, III. 15, IV. 26, IV. 30, V. 2, V. 8, V. 13, V. 26, VI. 2, VIII. 5, IX. 4, IX. 5. He quotes him verbatim in II. 9 evidently with a copy of Cicero before him, *deinde paulo post* (p. 63.15) and *ad verbum excerpenda arbitratus sum* (p. 63. 23); II. 13, II. 14, II. 21, III. 15, III. 27, IV. 26, IV. 30, V. 8, V. 13, VI. 2, IX. 5. In DCD. V. 26 we cannot be certain whether the words *O miserum cui*

peccare licebat are verbatim from Cicero or whether they merely give the sentiment. In DCD II. 11 and II. 12 he refers to the *De Re pub.* of Cicero. The above named passages need no remark.

More interesting is it to note the use which Augustine has made of Cicero as an authority *without mentioning him as such*

In DCD I. 3 (p. 8. 9) Augustine uses the expression *cordatos homines*. The word *cordatos* savours of Ennius, but as we find only a scanty use of Ennius made by Augustine, it is quite possible that Augustine got this word from Cicero *Tusc. I. 9. 18* or *De Re pub. I. 18. 30* with both of which works Augustine was well acquainted. Of course he may have met the word also in the *virī cordati* of the vulgate, but *not* the *Itala* of Job 34. 10: but if Augustine had had this in mind he would naturally have written *cordatos viros* for *cordatos homines*.

In DCD I. 15 (p. 26.33) Augustine writes *Si autem dicunt M. Regulum etiam in illa captivitate illisque cruciatibus corporis animi virtute beatum esse potuisse*. Surely here he had in mind Cic. *De Fin. 2.20.65* *dicet pro me ipsa virtus nec dubitabit isti vestro beato M. Regulum antepondere clamat virtus beatiorem fuisse quam potantem in rosa Thorium*. The coincidence of the language and thought suggests that he had Cicero in mind.

In DCD I. 22 (p. 36.27) it seems to me that the story of Cleombrotus *ille potius Cleombrotus in hac animi magnitudine reperitur quem ferunt lecto Platonis libro, ubi de immortalitate animae disputavit, se praecipitem dedisse de muro atque ita ex hac vita emigrasse ad eam quam credidit esse meliorem. Nihil enim urgebat aut calamitatis aut criminis*

must have been suggested by Cicero Tusc. 1.34.84 Cal-
limachi quidem epigramma in Ambra-
ciotam Cleombrotum est quem ait cum
ei nihil accidisset adversi, e muro se
in mare abiēcisse. There is really no other source
used by Augustine, which contains the story.

In DCD II. 14 we have the account of Plato's banishing
the poets from his ideal state, and his reasons for doing so:
Iste vero et deorum iniurias indigne
tulit et fucari corrumpique figmentis
animos civium noluit. Of course Augustine did
not get this from Plato's Republic in the original. He proba-
bly had recourse to the fourth book of Cicero's De Re pub.,
with which book we know that he was well acquainted, and in
which we learn from the casual fragment of Nonius this sub-
ject was treated. A somewhat similar notice is found in Tusc
2.11.27, but we rather think that the fourth book of Cicero's
De Re pub. was Augustine's source here (see note p. 69.10).

In DCD II. 16 Cicero seems to be Augustine's authority
for writing quamvis Lycurgus Lacedae-
monii leges ex Apollinis auctoritate
se instituisse confinxerit. See De Div. 1.43.96
and N.D. 3.38.91; and probably Cicero De Re pub. 2.14.26
was known to Augustine in his account of the civil and relig-
ious legislation of Numa Pompilius found in this same chapter,
though Livy seems here to be at least a co-ordinate source.
Compare Livy 1.19 sq.

Cicero is undoubtedly Augustine's authority in DCD II.
20 (p. 79.5) in the story of Sardanapalus. Compare, with the
account of Augustine, Tusc. 5.35.101 Sardanapalli
. . . . qui incidi iussit in busto:

Haec habeo quae edi quaeque exsatu-
rata libido

Hausit; at illa iacent multa et prae-
clara relictæ.

Cicero mentions the voluptuousness of the same king in *De Fini.* 2.32.106, and we know from the scholiast on Juvenal 10.362 that Cicero said something of him in the the third book of the *De Re pub.*—probably more than the scholiast gives. We know of no other literary source than Cicero from which Augustine could have drawn this narrative so much resembling that of Cicero.

Perhaps also the contrast between Marius and Regulus in DCD II. 23 was suggested by Cicero *Paradoxa* 2.16.

In DCD III. 9 (p. 106 11) Augustine refers to Cicero in the words: *vel ut alii volunt, triginta novem annis*, for the length of Numa's reign. This is the number which Cicero gives (*De Re pub.* 2.14. 27) following the authority of Polybius.

Again Cicero is Augustine's chief authority in the account of the death of Romulus and the action of Julius Proculus in DCD III. 15. As we know from the rest of the chapter (on which see notes p. 116.12, 117.8) Cicero was not his only authority, but he has followed him principally, if not altogether, in the opening part of the chapter. Cicero alone is the authority for *subornatum Iulium Proculum*. And Augustine shows below that he knew the account of Cicero (p. 116.30) *Cicero illam inter deos Romuli receptionem . . . significat* quoting from the *De Re pub.* and for the *solis defectio* he gives a fragment on p. 117.21 from the *Hortensius* of Cicero: *ut easdem tenebras efficiat quas effecit in interitu Romuli qui obscuracione solis est factus*. The *propter ferocitatem a senatu discerptum esse*, it is true, does not occur in any of the extant works of Cicero. Livy gives this (1.16.4) as a report which he did not credit: *fuisse . . . aliquos qui discerptum regem patrum manibus taciti arguerent*. It is possible that Augustine while following Cicero's narrative may have had in his mind this detail from his knowl-

edge of Livy, but there is no reason why we should suppose that this dismemberment of Romulus by the Senate was not recorded either in one of the lost parts of Cicero's *De Re publica* or in the lost *Hortensius*.

In DCD IV. 4 (p. 150.27) we have another clear case where Cicero has been used : *Alexandro illi Magno quidam comprehensus pirata respondit. Nam cum idem rex hominem interrogasset quid ei videretur ut mare infestaret, ille libera contumacia: Quod tibi, inquit, ut orbem terrarum; sed quia id ego exiguo navigio facio, latro vocor; quia tu magna classe, imperator.* Compare with these words those of Cicero preserved by Nonius (pages 125, 318, 534) *M. Tullius de re pub. lib. 3: nam cum quaeretur ex eo quo scelere compulsus mare haberet infestum uno myoparone: 'eodem', inquit, 'quo tu orbem terrae.'* There is no doubt but that the passage from which this extract of Nonius is taken would have told the whole story given above by Augustine. Nonius' extract is very incomplete, as he wished to quote only so much from Cicero as would serve his purpose, namely to prove that *infestum mare haberet*, *pro mare latrocinando infestaret*. We see this also from the way the extract begins *cum quaeretur ex eo*,—Nonius not being concerned to state or identify the noun (*pirata*) in Cicero to which the *eo* refers. *Pirata* in Cicero is all important to the story, but of no importance to Nonius for purely lexical purposes.

In DCD IV. 20 (p. 169 15) we must conclude that Cicero is the source : *virtutem in quattuor species distribuendam esse viderunt, prudentiam, iustitiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam.* This four-fold division of Plato (*De Legg.* 1.631 C), is repeated in Apuleius (*De dog. Platonis* 2.1) in

whose account *pudicitiam* is the same as *temperantiam* of Augustine. See note p. 169.14 where it is shown Jerome knew that this four-fold division was found in the works of Cicero, and from Augustine's own testimony (*De Trin.* 14.9.12) that he found it in the lost Hortensius of Cicero. It may be noticed that it was found more than once in Cicero, as Jerome speaks of Cicero treating these four virtues in *officiorum libris*, while Augustine says *De omnibus tamen quattuor (virtutibus) . . . Tullius in Hortensio dialogo disputans*. There is therefore no doubt that in the DCD IV. 20 Cicero, though not there mentioned, is Augustine's source.

For the *nobile illud commentum de figuli rota* in DCD V. 3 (p. 193.32) there is, so far as I know, no literary authority except this passage of Augustine, and it is impossible to say with certainty whom Augustine has followed in this story. But the probabilities are greatly in favor of Ciceronian authority. See the note on this passage (p. 193.32) in which it is pointed out that the Nigidius Figulus, about whom the story is related, was on very friendly terms with Cicero, had some correspondence with him and is chiefly mentioned in his works. A second argument which I think points in the same direction is derived from the words *inquit, inquit* (p. 194.6 and 9) used parenthetically in relating the story. These words I take as referring still to the same author, namely Cicero, who has been his authority in chap. 2. A third and still stronger argument in support of Ciceronian authority, may be advanced from a close examination of the context. Chap. 3 is closely connected with chap. 2, note *itaque*, and it is still on the same subject. It begins *Frustra itaque adfertur nobile illud commentum de figuli rota*. To what does *adfertur* refer? In support of what is *nobile illud commentum* brought forward? Only one answer is possible: it refers back to the *astrologia* treated of in the preceding chapter, in which chapter Cicero was the authority. From all this we conclude that he too is the

authority for this story in the beginning of chap. 3, which is all the more likely because followed by the words *inquit*, *inquit* mentioned already. These three arguments seem to point beyond doubt to Cicero as Augustine's authority here. Moreover if the narrative about Hippocrates and Posidonius Stoicus in DCD V. 2 is referred to the treatise *De Fato*, to which it seems most natural to assign it, as Dambart and the editors of Cicero do, then I have no doubt *nobile illud commentum de figuli rota* is also a fragment of the same.

In DCD V. 5 (p. 197.13) could *illud a nonnullis praedicatur quod quidam sapiens horam elegit quacum uxore concumberet, unde filium mirabilem gigneret* be a fragment of Cicero's *De Fato*? It is a subject kindred to what we find Augustine has taken from Cicero in chap. 2, and we find in the case of the *quosdam fratres* (p. 192.12) that Posidonius Stoicus said the position of the stars *at the hour of conception* had something to do with the subsequent simultaneous suffering of twins. These considerations render it highly probable Cicero was the source, and that the statement was found by Augustine in the *De Fato*.

In DCD V. 20 (p. 231.6) Cicero was evidently Augustine's mind when he wrote *Solent philosophi qui finem boni humani in ipsa virtute constituunt tabulam quandam verbis pingere ubi voluptas in sella regali quasi delicata quaedam regina considat, eique virtutes famulae subiciantur*. From Cic. *De Finn* 2.21.69 sq. (as Dombart indicates) *pudebit te, inquam, illius tabulae quam Cleanthes sane commode verbis depingere solebat. Iubebat eos qui audiebant secum ipsos cogitare pictam in tabula voluptatem pulcherrime vestitu et ornatu regali in solio sedentem, praesto esse virtutes ut ancillulas*

quae nihil aliud agerent, nullum suum officium ducerent nisi ut voluptati ministrarent.

For the subject-matter in general of DCD VIII. 2 and 3 it is likely that Augustine had a fair general knowledge of philosophy from what he learned of it in the schools of his day. But one of the literary sources of his knowledge of philosophy in general (excluding Neo-platonism, of course) was no doubt Cicero, not only in his works which are extant but in those no longer extant, particularly the Hortensius. To this last named work we may attribute a large amount of his knowledge of philosophy, both because of the high appreciation he had of this work and because of what we know of its comprehensive scope. In Conf. 3. 4. 7 Augustine writes *usitatio-
iam discendi ordine perveneram in
librum quemdam Ciceronis, cuius
linguam fere omnes mirantur, pectus
non ita. Sed liber ille ipsius exhortationem continet ad philosophiam et
vocatur Hortensius. Ille vero liber
mutavit affectum meum et ad te ipsum,
Domine, mutavit preces meas et vota
ac desideria mea fecit alia*; and again in *De beata vita* 1.4 *postquam in schola rhetoris
librum illum Ciceronis qui Hortensius
vocatur accepi, tanto amore philoso-
phiae succensus sum ut statim ad eam
me transferre meditarer. Cicero himself
tells us of the scope of the Hortensius: compare Tusc. 2.2.4
Nos autem universae philosophiae
vituperatoribus respondimus in Hor-
tensio, and ibid. 3.3.6 de universa philoso-
phia quanto opere et expetenda esset
et colenda, satis, ut arbitror, dictum
est in Hortensio, also De Finn. 1.1.2. In such a
book there must have been a great amount of information on
philosophy in general which Augustine made his own; and*

that it contained more than philosophy we learn from DCD III. 15 where Augustine says he found in this dialogue an account of the death of Romulus and the *obscuratio solis*. We point out these facts to show that this book ought to be given a very high place among the sources of Augustine.

In DCD VIII. 4 either Cicero or Apuleius may have been Augustine's source for the narrative of the travels of Plato. The division of *sapientia* into *activa* and *contemplativa* was probably taught in the schools, but for a literary source Augustine had Cicero, as we learn from the *De Trin.* 14.19.26 that he found the *contemplativa* in the end of the dialogue *Hortensius*; and no doubt Cicero treated both of the *activa* and *contemplativa*. Augustine's literary source for the three-fold division of the Platonic *philosophia* into *moralis naturalis* and *rationalis* was probably Cic. *Acad.* 1.5.19, though no doubt this was taught in the schools in the discussions on Platonism.

In DCD VIII. 7 Augustine probably had Cicero in mind while writing *notiones quas appellant ἐννοίας*. Compare *Tusc.* 1.24.57, *De Finn* 3.6.21, *Acad.* 2.7.22, 2.10.30.

In DCD VIII. 13 Cicero is again the authority in regard to Plato banishing the poets out of his state.

No doubt too Augustine must have remembered Cicero in *perturbatio est enim quae Graece πάθος dicitur* in DCD VIII. 17.

Perhaps he had also Cicero in mind along with Apuleius in DCD IX. 16: *Deum quidem summum omnium creatorem . . . sic a Platone praedicari asseverat, quod ipse sit solus qui non possit sermonis humani quavis oratione vel modice comprehendere*. Compare Cic. *N.D.* 1.12.20.

In one place Augustine has followed Cicero as against Lactantius, namely, in DCD X. 3 (p. 406.16) *religentes, unde et religio dicta perhibetur*; compare N.D. 2.28.72 *sunt dicti religiosi ex religendo*, which Lactantius denies: Div. Inst. 4.28.3.

Perhaps also in DCD X. 6 *sacrificium res divina est, ita ut hoc quoque vocabulo id Latini veteres appellaverint* Cicero was in Augustine's thoughts: compare De Div. 2.10.25 and N.D. 3.18.47.

3. AULUS GELLIUS.

This author is mentioned only in one chapter in the DCD, namely IX. 4 (p. 372.9): *In libris quibus titulus est Noctium Atticarum scribit A. Gellius, vir elegantissimi eloquii et multae ac facundae scientiae*. In addition to this place I have been unable to find evidence in the first ten books of the City of God which would prove that Augustine in these books had specifically followed Gellius, except in one place, DCD I. 14, *qui tamen in suis litteris credunt Arionem Methymnaeum, nobilissimum citharistam, cum esset deiectus e navi exceptum delphini dorso et ad terras esse pervectum*. It is not to be supposed for an instant that Augustine took this story from Herodotus, nor could he have got the given details from Cicero's extant works, and we know of no lost work of Cicero in which the incident was given. It seems then that Augustine took it from Gellius.

4. JUSTINUS.

Justinus is named only once in the DCD (IV. 6), and in this place extracts are made from the first book of his epitome of the *Historiae Philippicae* of Trogus Pompeius. There is no other place, I can find, in the first ten books of the City of God which need be assigned to Justinus.

5. LABEO.

The Labeo to whom Augustine refers is M. Antistius Labeo the younger, the son of M. Antistius Labeo. The elder Labeo was a jurist and pupil of C. Trebatius Testa, Cicero's young friend. The younger Labeo flourished in the time of Augustine and was one of the two great jurists of that age—the other being C. Ateius Capito. This Labeo was a very voluminous writer, and among other things wrote on Roman religion. No work of his is specified by Augustine and no direct citations given. He evidently wrote on theology and in this department was one of Augustine's sources. Augustine refers to him for a distinction between deities: *cum praesertim Labeo, quem huiusce modi rerum peritissimum praedicant, numina bona a numinibus malis ista etiam cultus diversitate distinguat, ut malos deos propitiari caedibus et tristibus supplicationibus asserat, bonos autem obsequiis laetis atque iucundis, qualia sunt, ut ipse ait, ludi convivia lectisternia* (p.66.1). This is referred to again in DCD III. 25 *secundum Labeonis distinctionem*: compare also VIII. 13 (p. 340.34). In DCD II. 14 he tells us Labeo placed Plato among the *semideos* and *semideos autem heroibus antepont*; *sed utrosque inter numina conlocat*. Perhaps through Labeo Augustine gained some knowledge of Plato. In DCD IX.19 we are told that Labeo is one of those who *eosdem perhibent ab aliis angelos dici quos ipsi daemones nuncupant*. Doubtless if we had the works of Labeo extant we should be able to find other traces of him used as a source by Augustine. See note p. 66.1.

6. LIVY.

Augustine mentions or identifies Livy only twice in the entire DCD,—II. 24 *scribit Livius* in connection with the civil wars of Sulla and Marius, and again in III. 7 *ut*

scribit Livius as authority for the survival of the shrine of Minerva amid the burning of Ilium by Fimbria; otherwise he never comes nearer to indicating him than by such a phrase as *alii scriptores*. Yet Livy is one of his primary sources.

But though Augustine only in the two places given above refers to Livy by name, we can prove that he was familiar with the narrative of Livy, and had him often in mind in his historical references, and sometimes very closely follows the words of Livy and twice at least gives a verbatim quotation.

In DCD I. 6 Augustine narrates the capture of Syracuse by M. Marcellus, and adds *refertur eam prius flevisse ruituram et ante eius sanguinem suas illi lacrimas effudisse*. Of Augustine's authorities Livy alone records this, (25.24.11.) That Livy was Augustine's authority here we have still stronger proof in the words (p. 11.5) *ne quis corpus liberum violaret*, which are taken verbatim from Livy 25.25.7; and Livy is the only historian who mentions this edict of Marcellus.

In the account of the taking of Tarentum by Fabius Maximus Cunctator Augustine has closely followed the narrative of Livy. This will be clearly seen by a comparison of the words of Augustine with those of Livy. The former writes (p. 11.11) *Fabius, Tarentinae urbis eversor, a simulacrorum depredatione se abstinuisse laudatur. Nam cum ei scriba suggessisset quid de signis deorum quae multa capta fuerant fieri iuberet, continentiam suam etiam iocando condivit. Quaesivit enim cuius modi essent et cum ei non solum multa grandia verum etiam renuntiarentur armata: 'Relinquamus,' inquit, 'Tarentinis deos iratos.'* Livy tells the same in the words: *Sed maiore animo generis eius praeda abstinuit Fabius quam*

Marcellus; qui interroganti scribae quid fieri signis vellet ingentis magnitudinis.....deos iratos Tarentinis relinquere iussit (27.16.8). Here Livy speaks of Fabius' view of the booty, and Livy alone is the authority for the reply of Fabius to the scriba, and in his work alone Augustine could find the comparison of Marcellus and Fabius.

In DCD I. 15 for the details of Regulus' death Augustine probably knew Cicero, as shown in the note on this passage, but in addition to Cicero he had the narrative of Livy in the eighteenth book now lost. Probably if this book were extant we should find that he has followed closely the account of Livy, although he also knew Cicero's remark concerning the happiness of Regulus on account of his virtues.

For the narrative of Lucretia (DCD I. 19) Augustine had at least two sources. He had heard the story treated as a theme for a rhetorical exercise (quidam declamans ait, DCD I. 19), from which he got the words mirabile dictu, duo fuerunt et adulterium unus admisit. Also he knew the account of Livy, as he seems to agree with Livy in mentioning only Collatinus and Brutus as present at the suicide of Lucretia. (Livy 1.58.)

In DCD I. 23 Livy's lost one hundred and fourteenth book was no doubt the authority for the opinion of Cato's friends in regard to his suicide and for his advice to his son

In DCD I. 30 and I. 31 Augustine's knowledge of Scipio Nasica pontifex maximus was derived from Livy who gives the details recorded in Augustine. The same Scipio is mentioned in DCD II. 5.

Also in the account of the institution of the ludis scaenici (DCD I. 32) the words of Augustine, populo bellicoso et solis antea ludis circensibus adsueto, seem to be an echo of those of Livy nova res bellicoso populo, nam circimodo spectaculum fuerat (7.2.3.).

If such a general statement as *non aliquot annos post Romam conditam ab Atheniensibus mutuarentur leges Solonis* (DCD II. 16) is to be referred to a specific literary source we may find such a source in Livy 3.31.8: *missi legati Athenas . . . iussique inclitas leges Solonis describere*.

Livy is probably the primary source used in the reference to the activity of Numa Pompilius in establishing laws and ceremonial rites; though Augustine does not speak enough in detail to enable us to decide between Cicero and Livy here.

Augustine begins DCD II. 17 with a remark taken from Sallust (whom he mentions) and then leaves Sallust and passes on to illustrate Sallust's words by examples taken from Livy. He first mentions the *raptas Sabinas*, the source of which is found in Livy 1. 9. This might have been taken also from Cic. *De Re pub.* 2.7.12, and Augustine's language is too vague to resemble either; but it seems more likely that Livy is his source, as he is in the remainder of the chapter; though we shall find instances in which Augustine has made use of more than one authority in the same chapter. See DCD III. 9, III. 15, III. 16, III. 19 with the notes.

Livy 2.2 is the source for the expulsion of Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus by Brutus, as also for the narrative of Camillus as given in the same chapter.

Livy is the only authority, as Kuhlman points out (*De veterum historicorum in Augustini de civitate Dei libro primo altero tertio vestigiis*. p. 11), for *absens etiam damna retur*.

It has been proved in the note on p. 86.23 that Livy was the source for the account of Marius in DCD II. 23. Livy is mentioned by Augustine in the beginning of DCD II. 24, and we cannot doubt that the source of the other incidents in DCD II. 24 and II. 25 is Livy.

In the words *quod illi quadraginta tres anni in tam longa pace transacti sunt regnante Numa* (DCD III.9) it is difficult

to say whether Augustine is following Livy or Eutropius, or both, as both give the same number of years. Augustine has not confined himself to only one authority in this chapter, as we know from the words *triginta novem*, which he found in Cicero.

The lost fifty-ninth book of Livy was the source for the incident related in the opening lines of DCD III. 11. It is true that the same incident is referred to in Julius Obsequens 28, but Augustine has given details not found there, and which we may reasonably assign to the lost narrative of Livy. Livy may have been included by Augustine in the *alii scriptores* DCD III. 15 (p. 117.8) as Livy Florus and Eutropius speak of the tempest at the death of Romulus.

In DCD III. 16 Livy seems to have been the source for *Brutus consanguineus Tarquinii fuisse perhibetur*; compare *L. Iunius Brutus, Tarquinia, sorore regis, natus* (I. 56. 7).

It is worth noting that in DCD., III. 16 (p. 121.7) while Augustine has Eutropius before him, he corrects the error of that author in regard to the *praenomen* of Valerius from Livy 2.8.9.

In DCD III. 17 and III. 18 Augustine has followed the narrative and order of Livy for a conspectus of the disasters of Rome from the death of the consul Valerius to the end of the first Punic war. For the details see the notes on this part. For some of the events referred to there is no extant authority, but it is shown in the notes that these may all be placed with good reason in the lost parts of Livy's work which covered this period. In these two chapters (17 and 18) I have not been able to find any trace of the use of any other historian but Livy. He alone was Augustine's authority, and we conclude from the manner in which he has followed the order of Livy's narrative that he had a copy of Livy before him for reference. This is not generally so in Augustine's use of Livy, as he seems to have found him too long and full to consult continuously—often only having him in memory for his general narrative.

Kuhlmann admits only Livy and Florus as sources used by Augustine in DCD III. 19 and does not think Augustine used Eutropius here. With this I cannot agree. Kuhlmann says (work cited above p. 12) *Itaque enim in l. III capitibus 19, 20 componendis Livius Augustino praecipuus fuit auctor, praeter eum Florus adhibitus.* This is true as far as it goes. But I have shown in the note p. 129. 1 that the words *tres modios anulorum aureorum Cathaginem misit* occur verbatim and in the same order in Eutropius (Brev. 3.11). One might say, however, that this is the only way of expressing in Latin "he sent three modii of gold rings to Carthage." Even supposing two different authors independently of each other, expressed the same thing by the same words in the same order, yet for the *amount* of rings sent Eutropius seems to be the sole authority. Kuhlmann says (p. 7) *Atque quod Augustinus 'tres modios anulorum,' Livius autem 'supra tres modios' Cathaginem esse missos tradidit, minor mihi videtur discrepantia esse quam ut Augustinum ex Livio pendere ea de causa negetur.* This might be so, if Livy had written as Kuhlmann has cited him; though even thus it seems to be more natural to suppose he is using Eutropius as his authority. But Kuhlmann has omitted *dimidium* before *supra tres modios* in Livy 23.12.1, which renders it the more improbable that Livy was Augustine's authority. Again, if Augustine were following Livy here, it is likely he would have taken notice of the *dimidium supra tres modios* or even *supra tres modios*, as it is evidently by no means Augustine's purpose to minimise the disasters of Rome. On the contrary he gives details to show the greatness of the disasters and thus heighten the effect of his own argument. For example in this chapter he uses the words of Florus *similior victo fuerit ille qui vicit* (p. 128.19); and in the battle of Cannae he

says the slaughter was so great that Hannibal *caede satiatus parciusuisse perhibetur* (p. 128. 29, not found in Livy); and so great was the want of soldiers after this defeat that to the *servitia* (p. 129.9) he adds the *reos facinorum* (p. 129.8—not found in Florus or Eutropius). A similar tendency may be noticed in the *vel nono* (p. 130.10) and in the dubious addition of *nam etiam suorum cadaveribus a nonnullis pasta perhibetur* (p. 130.13). Another objection to Livian authority here seems to me to be found in the statement of Livy immediately following the *dimidium supra tres modios*, to the effect that one *modius* was nearer the truth; *Fama tenuit, quae prior vero est, haut plus fuisse modio*. Even if Augustine wished to give the higher number, he could hardly in justice have passed over this express declaration that the smaller number was nearer the truth.

Thus in DCD III. 19 Augustine no longer adheres to the work of Livy alone, but passes over to Florus whom he in some respects closely follows for the second Punic war. His use of Florus here will be noticed in its place. Once also he has adopted the account and followed the words of Eutropius. Yet Augustine proves from his own account that, though he has called to his service Florus and Eutropius in chapter 19, he was acquainted with Livy's history of the second Punic war. He supplemented or corrected Florus whom he had before him from his recollection of the account of Livy. The following words deserve note:—*Denique tanta militum inopia secuta est ut Romani reos facinorum proposita impunitate colligerent, servitia libertate donarent... Servis... arma defuerunt. Detracta sunt templis*. Here Augustine follows Florus (Epit. 1.22.23) as far as the *words* are concerned, but Livy for the *matter*. He had the narrative of Livy in his mind and that of Florus before his eyes. He unites both, giving the preference to Livy.

In the next chapter (III. 20) Augustine has departed more from Florus and returned to Livy. In the words *missi legati ad Hannibalem Contempti Carthaginem pergunt* he has followed Livy who gives the double embassy (21.9.3). Florus gives only a single mission (Epit. 1.22.7). Livy again was his only authority for *octavo* (p. 130.10). See Livy 21.15.3 *octavo mense quam coeptum oppugnari captum Saguntum quidam scripsere*. Another point of contact between Augustine's narrative and that of Livy has been pointed out by Kuhlmann (*De veterum historicorum in Augustini de civitate Dei libro primo altero tertio vestigiis* p. 12) namely, that both Augustine and Livy call Saguntum *civitas opulentissima* (Augustine p. 130.8, Livy 21.7.2).

In DCD III. 21 Augustine returns to Livy as his sole authority. He opens the chapter with a notice of Sallust's statement about the morality and peace of Rome between the second and third Punic wars. But for the historical facts there is no trace of any other historian except Livy, to whom he has adhered closely, even quoting his words. Compare *nullo illius urbis captus desiderio* and *ne saltem mortuo in ingrata patria funus fieret* with Livy 38.53.8: *sine desiderio urbis* and *ne funus sibi in ingrata patria fieret*. There is also a striking resemblance between the words of Augustine in this chapter: *Asiatica luxuria Romam omni hoste peior inrepsit. Tunc enim primum lecti aerati et pretiosa stragula visa perhibentur; tunc inductae in convivia psaltriae et alia licentiosa nequitia*, and those of Livy: *Luxuriae enim peregrinae origo ab exercitu Asiatico invecta in urbem est. Ii primum lectos aeratos, vestem stragulam, pretiosam, plagulas et alia textilia et, quae tum magnificae*

suppellectilis habebantur, monopodia et abacos Romam advexerunt. Tunc psalteriae sambucistriaeque et convivalia alia ludorum oblectamenta addita epulis (Livy 39.6.7.).

The reference to the massacre of Romans by the order of Mithridates DCD III. 22 is too vague to assign with certainty to Livy.

DCD III. 24 is to be referred to the lost sixty-first book of Livy. Florus cannot be the authority, as there are details given which are wanting in that author, namely L. Opimius tria milia hominum occidisse perhibetur, and haec enim pactio caedem praecesserat, and occisus est cum libris Marcus Fulvius consularis.

To the same lost book of Livy we must refer the aedes Concordiae facta est of DCD III. 25. See note p. 136. 25.

Perhaps, as pointed out in the note on p. 138.9, the ex paucissimis, hoc est minus quam septuaginta, gladiatoribus of DCD III. 26 is to be referred to the lost ninety-fifth book of Livy. It is not a fatal objection to this that Epit. 95 gives quattuor et septuaginta.

Kuhlmann (De veterum historicorum in Augustini de civitate Dei libro primo altero tertio vestigiis, p. 19) would also refer to Livy the differences between Augustine's narrative in DCD III. 27 and that of Florus, viz. Baebius et Numitorius unco tracti sparsis visceribus interirent and In ipsius autem Marii oculis continuo feriebantur, quibus salutantibus dexteram porrigere nolisset. Perhaps these differences do necessitate the introduction of another authority, which, of course, would be Livy. This passage is more fully treated under Florus.

Livy is also the authority for the prodigies of DCD III. 31 as shown in the notes.

In DCD IV. 20, for Mucius, Curtius and the Decii, Livy must be posited as the source, as Eutropius does not give these details, and Florus does not mention Curtius, while Livy gives them all.

It is impossible in DCD IV. 23 to say whether Augustine got *deae* (*Felicitati*) *post tot Romanos principes Lucullus aedem constituit* in Varro, or in the lost forty-eighth book of Livy, the epitome of which tells of Lucullus' imprisonment by the tribunes and his subsequent campaigns in Spain.

In DCD V. 18 Augustine has followed three different authorities Livy, Florus and Eutropius, though Kuhlmann (work cited above p. 6) admits only Livy, and Eutropius: for the use of Florus here see note p. 227. 5. In the first part of the chapter Livy is the authority for the death of the sons of Brutus by their father's order, also that of Torquatus' son, for Furius Camillus, Mucius, Curtius and Marcus Pulvillus. In connection with the last Augustine writes *dedicans aedem Iovis Iunonis Minervae* (p. 226. 10) and *Livy Iovis aedes* (2.8.6), and Kuhlmann remarks (work cited above p. 6) that Augustine *ex sua rerum cognitione Livi verbis 'Iovis aedes' addit 'Iunonis Minervae,' nam Iovis templum ex dextra et sinistra parte Iunonis et Minervae cellam habuisse nulli illorum temporum viro docto non notum erat*. This seems to be the last use of Livy as an authority by Augustine in the first ten books of the City of God. There is, so far as I know, no passage in books VI, VII, VIII, IX or X in which there is any trace of Livy. Thus the employment of this author as a source is limited to the first of the two sections (I-V and VI-X), of the first part of the DCD (I-X).

7. PLATO.

This author is mentioned often by Augustine, for which see Dombart's index. Little need be said about Plato as a source, for it will be shown in the thesis on Augustine's knowledge of Greek that he did not know Plato in the original. His knowledge of Plato was gained from the philosophic discussions in the schools of his day and especially from Neoplatonism. He had some Latin versions of parts of Plato's writings, such as those made by Cicero.

Cicero's works in general and those of Apuleius added to his store of knowledge of Plato. In reading the City of God we find after all a very limited use of Plato, though Augustine speaks highly of him. The references (always in Latin versions) are not frequent nor specially significant, as they usually are either commonplaces or mere *inferences*, or if specific, come entirely through Cicero or Apuleius. Possibly he got some knowledge of Plato from the *De Philosophia* of Varro which he knew (DCD XIX 1-3).

8. PLINIUS.

Pliny the elder is mentioned by name in the DCD XV. 9, XV. 12; but in the first ten books the only use of Pliny seems to be VIII. 15 (p. 343. 18) *serpentibus, qui etiam deposita tunica senectutem deponere atque in iuventam redire perhibentur*, if indeed it is necessary to find a literary source for so common a phenomenon which Augustine must have observed for himself. See note on p. 343. 18.

9. PLOTINUS.

Augustine's relation to Plotinus, which is not so marked in the DCD as in some other works, has been sufficiently worked out by others, especially by Grandgeorge and Loesche. All the references to Plotinus occurring in the DCD are given by Dombart, except in X. 2 which I have supplied. See note to p. 404. 18. Perhaps Augustine had Plotinus in mind also in DCD V. 11. See note p. 210. 31.

10. POMPONIUS.

A certain Pomponius is mentioned in DCD IV. 16: *ut ait Pomponius*, in connection with the explanation of the deity Murcia. It is impossible to say which Pomponius this was, and probably Augustine did not know him at first hand, but found him mentioned in the work of Varro treating of Murcia.

11. PORPHYRY.

There is no doubt that Porphyry is one of the Neoplatonists whom Augustine informs us in his Confessions he read through the Latin version of Victorinus. Porphyry is the chief literary source for the 10th book of the DCD. Augustine mentions him in DCD VII. 25 and in VIII. 12. But in book X there is frequent and extensive use of him; see X. 9, X. 10, X. 11, X. 19, X. 21, X. 23, X. 24, X. 26, X. 28, X. 29, X. 30, X. 32. Porphyry's *epistula ad Anebonem* is mentioned in X. 11: *cum ad Anebonem scripsit Aegyptium*; the *de regressu animae* X. 29: *quos de regressu animae scripsit* and X. 32. The fragments of these found in this part of Augustine are collected in my notes on this book, and in the case of the *De regressu animae*, I think for the first time. In addition to these works of Porphyry we have evidence in DCD VII. 25 and from Euseb. Praep. Evang. 3. 11 that Augustine also used Porphyry's *περὶ ἀγαλμάτων*. See note p. 306. 23. In DCD X. 21 we have reason to believe from the evidence of Euseb. Praep. Evang. 4. 23 that the *dicit bonum deum vel genium non venire in hominem nisi malus fuerit ante placatus* is a fragment of the *περὶ τῆς ἐκ λόγιων φιλοσοφίας*—a work which Augustine mentions under its Greek title and gives large extracts from a Latin version in DCD XIX. 23. To this same source Wolff (*Porphyrii de philosophia ex oraculis haurienda librorum reliquiae*. p. 146) would also refer the fragment in

DCD X. 26 (p. 442. 14). Perhaps the literary source of *ut ipse scribis* (DCD X. 27. p. 444. 32) in regard to Christ's being acknowledged as divine by the oracles of the heathen may have been the *κατὰ χριστιανῶν* of Porphyry: also *Hunc autem Christum esse non credis; contemnis enim eum propter corpus ex femina acceptum et propter crucis opprobrium* (DCD X. 28).

12. SALLUST.

Sallust was the standard historian taught in the schools in the days of Augustine, compare DCD III. 17: *neque enim gravius vel graviora dicimus auctoribus eorum et stilo et otio multum impares; quibus tamen ediscendis et ipsi elaboraverunt et filios suos elaborare compellunt. Qui autem suscensent, quando me ferrent, si ego dicerem quod Sallustius ait?* Augustine's use of Sallust as an authority presents no difficulty whatever. His pessimistic description of the times of which he wrote and his severe censures on the depraved morals of Rome *before the introduction of Christianity* rendered him a useful instrument for Augustine to turn against his own countrymen. Augustine nowhere mentions the historian Tacitus, though it is hard to see how he could have failed to know about him. But Tacitus' work was not so well adapted to his purpose, as the gloomy pictures painted by Tacitus belong to times after the introduction of Christianity. It is strange that Augustine, though he has not made so extensive a use of Sallust as of Livy, mentions the former nearly always by name and quotes him verbatim, while he only twice refers to Livy by name, and only twice seems to use the exact words of Livy. The reason of this is probably to be found in the fact that the works of Livy were too large and cumbrous for continuous use. Kuhlmann (work cited above p. 2) has tabu-

lated the instances of Augustine's use of Sallust's *Catiline* and *Histories*. Augustine shows no trace of any use of the *Jugurtha*.

13. SENECA

Lucius Annaeus Seneca is twice mentioned by name in the DCD. In V. 8 five verses are cited from Ep. 107—reference given by Dombart. Here Augustine quotes from memory: *Annaei Senecae sunt, nisi fallor, hi versus*. Again in VI. 10 and VI. 11 Augustine quotes from *eo libro quem contra superstitiones condidit* (p. 267.9). Apart from these two references there is no use of Seneca elsewhere in the entire DCD.

14. TERTULLIAN

With the writings and views of his fellow-countryman Augustine was familiar. He mentions him in Ep. 190. 4. 14, *Dé Haeres.* 86, *Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum* 2. 9. 32, *De Genesi ad lit.* 25 and 26. *De bono viduitatis* 4. 6; 5. 7, *De anima et eius origine* 2. 5. 9. In the DCD Augustine mentions him by name only once viz: in VII 1, *quod facitius ait Tertullianus fortasse quam verius: Si dii eliguntur ut bulbi utique ceteri reprobi iudicantur*. Outside this there is nothing from Tertullian in the DCD.

In DCD II. 3 for the *vulgare proverbium: Pluvia deficit causa Christiani sunt* it is true the nearest approach is in Tertullian, (see note p. 55. 33,) but it is not likely that for the above words Augustine had in mind any specific literary source; no doubt he had heard the expression, as we would infer from *vulgare proverbium*. Nor is Tertullian required as the source of Augustine's knowledge for *Caelesti virgini* in DCD II. 4 (p. 57. 11). Yet he is of service to us here as we learn from him that this deity was peculiarly African, hence the African Augustine would naturally be acquainted with the rites of the *Caelestis virgo*.

15. VARRO

The writings of Marcus Terentius Varro are the main literary source for the fourth, sixth and seventh books. Augustine used him particularly for Roman mythological religion, the classes names and relations of the gods and goddesses to one another, their individual functions, their respective rites and their acts of shame. Sometimes, but not frequently, he employs him for Roman history. In DCD IV. 23 Francken has shown that Varro was Augustine's authority for the story of the refusal of the three gods Mars, Terminus, and Iuventas to give place to Jupiter when Tarquinius was building the Capitol. Here in opposition to Livy and other authorities Jupiter is represented as encountering three-fold opposition.

Francken (*Fragmenta M. Ter. Varronis quae inveniuntur in libris S. Augustini de civitate Dei*. Lugduni-Batavorum 1836), Krahner (*Varronis Curio de Cultu Deorum*. Neobrandenburg, 1851), Lüttgert (*Theologumena Varroniana a S. Augustino in iudicium vocata*. Sorau, 1859), Schwarz (*De Varronis apud sanctos patres vestigiis*. In *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*. Supplementband 16; Leipzig, 1888. p. 407-499) and Agahd (*Quaestiones Varronianae*. In *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*. Supplementband 24; Leipzig, 1898, p. 5-220 and 367-368) have so carefully collected and fully annotated the fragments of Varro taken from the City of God, that little more can be said. The work of these scholars is of very different merit. That of Lüttgert is of little or no consequence, *piis magis quam doctis hominibus sua programmata conscripsisse videtur*, as Schwarz says (work given above, p. 438), and that of Krahner comes next in unimportance. Francken's work is superior to both of these: and Schwarz and Agahd are the most recent and complete authorities.

To the work of these editors of the fragments of Varro I would however add the following: In DCD IV. 10 (p. 159. 20) Augustine writes *Cui etiam Phoenices donum dabant de prostitutione filiarum antequam eas iungerent viris*. Varro is ad-

mittedly Augustine's authority throughout this chapter and the succeeding. This raises a presumption in favor of Varronian source for the above cited words. Moreover, when Varro was treating of Venus what would be more natural for him than to add the piece of information about the practices of the Phoenicians in regard to Venus? It is all the more likely that Varro gave this detail about Venus when we learn from DCD VII. 19 some such details concerning the *Poeni* and *Galli* in their worship of Saturnus: *dicit a quibusdam pueros ei solitos immolari sicut a Poenis, et a quibusdam etiam maiores sicut a Gallis*: and in DCD VII. 35, *Quod genus divinationis idem Varro a Persis dicit allatum*. In DCD IV. 31 (p. 186. 24) Varro evidently knew something of the customs of Jewish worship, because there he adduces the example of the Jews to prove the truth of his assertion that if the custom of the ancient Romans, of worshipping the gods *sine simulacro*, had remained, such worship would have continued purer. In DCD VII. 28 *Hinc etiam Samothracum nobilia mysteria in superiore libro sic interpretatur*—showing Varro knew the *mysteria* of the Samothracians.

The sum of the probabilities is therefore as follows:—

(1) Varro is admittedly the sole source of all traceable information about deities given in this chapter.

(2) It is natural that Varro should write this passage as an illustration of the worship of Venus in a non-Roman cult, just as it was his habit to give analogous illustrations for the worship of the deities in non-Roman cults, as shown above.

(3) There is no other source used by Augustine in the DCD, or elsewhere, so far as I know, where this particular information could have been found.

B. SOURCES NOT MENTIONED BY AUGUSTINE.

In addition to the authors whom Augustine mentions as having been used by him there are some others used by him

whose names he passes over in silence. Some of these we are able to detect by the language or matter which Augustine has borrowed from them.

1. FLORUS.

Chief among such is Florus with whom he was quite familiar. He uses Florus as a historical source, either alone as a principal source, or as coördinate or subordinate to Livy, Eutropius and Cicero.

Compare the words in DCD III. 19 *similior victo fuerit ille qui vicit* with Florus Epit. 1. 22. 1 *similior victo sit populus ille qui vicit*: and the words preceding this quotation, *qui non tam narrare bella Romana quam Romanum imperium laudare instituerunt*, evidently are intended to describe the work of Florus. Compare *arma defuerunt; detracta sunt templis* (p. 129. 12) with Florus Epit. 1. 22. 23 *arma non erant: detracta sunt templis*. Thus a comparison of the language of both authors proves to us that Augustine had the very words of Florus before him here.

In the account of Hannibal's command to show mercy at Cannae, where Augustine writes *tanta inimicorum caede satiatus parci iussisse perhibetur* he has followed Florus (Epit. 1. 22. 17) who is the only authority for this statement: *itaque duo maximi exercitus caesi ad hostium satietatem donec Hannibal diceret militi suo 'parce ferro.'*

Again in DCD III. 14 compare *utriusque comminutio civitatis tergeminis hinc atque inde fratribus* with Florus Epit. 1. 1. 3. *utrique comminuerentur tregemenis hinc atque inde fratribus*. This seems evidence enough that Augustine followed Florus for the fight between the Horatii and the Curiatii.

But the indebtedness of Augustine to Florus is not confined to isolated expressions or short quotations, as will be seen by comparing DCD III. 27 (p. 139. 17) with Florus Epit. 2. 9. 14.

The former reads: *caput Octavii consulis poneretur in rostris, Caesares a Fimbria domibus trucidarentur suis, duo Crassi pater et filius in conspectu mutuo mactarentur, Baebius et Numitorius unco tracti sparsis visceribus interirent, Catulus hausto veneno se manibus inimicorum subtraheret, Merula flamen Dialis praecisis venis Iovi etiam suo sanguine litaret. In ipsius autem Marii oculis continuo feriebantur quibus salutantibus dexteram porrigere noluisset.*

The latter (in Rossbach's text): *Octavi consulis caput pro rostris exponitur, Antoni consularis in Mari ipsius mensis. Caesar et Fimbria in penatibus domorum suarum trucidantur, Crassi pater et filius in mutuo alter alterius aspectu. Baebium et Numitorium per medium forum unci traxere carnificum. Catulus se ignis haustu ludibrio hostium exemit. Merula flamen Dialis in Capitolio Iovis ipsius oculos venarum cruore respersit. Ancharius ipso vidente Mario confossus est quia fatalem illam scilicet manum non porrexerat salutanti.*

One cannot doubt that Augustine had Florus as his authority here, though he differs from him in omitting the death of Antonius, but still more in the last part where Augustine has heightened the effect by stating that those were put to death (*feriebantur*), whose salutation Marius was unwilling to grace by stretching out his right hand. On the

contrary his authority records here only the death of one such, Ancharius, and that because he had not reached out his hand at Marius' salutation.

Kuhlmann is perhaps right in suggesting that the differences between Augustine and Florus demand the use of another historian. The points of difference pointed out by Kuhlmann are two: *Baebius et Numitorius sparsis visceribus interirent*, and that already mentioned about Ancharius. Kuhlmann says of these (work cited above p. 19) *Augustinus ex iis quae Livio lecto memoria teneret mihi videtur addidisse*. He does not take notice of Augustine's omission of the death of Antonius.

Florus seems to have been Augustine's authority also in DCD III. 28. Compare especially *obsesso etiam senatu de ipsa curia tamquam de carcere producebantur ad gladium* with Florus Epit. 2. 9. 20; *obsessaque curia sic de senatu quasi de carcere qui iugularentur educti*. Augustine's point of view as well as his words here so strongly resemble those of Florus that we must suppose he had Florus in mind.

Who will doubt that the words *donec Sullae suggeretur sinendos esse aliquos vivere ut essent quibus possent imperare qui vicerant* are a reproduction of Florus Epit. 2. 9. 25 *donec admonente Fufidio vivere aliquos debere ut essent quibus imperarent?* The account of the *tabula illa* (p. 140. 27) and *duo milia* (p. 140. 30) is evidently taken from this same place.

We see also from a comparison of p. 141. 3-10 with Florus Epit. 2. 9. 26-28 that the former was written from the latter: *Quendam enim sine ferro laniantium manus diripuerunt, inmanius homines hominem vivum, quam bestiae solent*

discerpere cadaver abiectum. Alius oculis effossis et particulatim membris amputatis in tantis cruciatibus diu vivere vel potius diu mori coactus est. Subhastatae sunt etiam, tamquam villae, quaedam nobiles civitates; una vero velut unus reus duci iubetur sic tota iussa est trudicari (Augustine).

Baebium sine ferro ritu ferarum inter manus lancinatum, Marium, ducis ipsius fratrem, apud Catuli sepulchrum oculis effosis, manibus cruribusque effractis servatum aliquandiu ut per singula membra moreretur. Possis singulorum hominum ferre poenas; municipia Italiae splendidissima sub hasta venierunt: Spoletium Interamnium Praeneste Florentia. Nam Sulmonem vetus oppidum socium atque amicum—facinus indignum—non expugnat aut obsidet iure belli; sed quo modo morte damnati duci iubentur, sic damnatam civitatem iussit Sulla deleri. (Florus)

We thus see how closely Augustine has followed the language and the sentiment of Florus. Only Augustine is more general and indefinite, omitting the names of the victimised persons and cities (giving general words instead, like *quendam, alius, quaedam civitates, una*)—Florus being more specific.

As will be seen from the note on p. 227. 5 Augustine had evidently Florus before him in addition to Eutropius in the account of Quintius Cincinnatus, DCD V. 18.

In DCD V. 22 Eutropius is the authority used by Augustine, yet in this chapter he has either made a slip about the numbers given by Eutropius or has consciously set him aside and taken Florus Epit. I. 21. 1 for the statement *bellum*

Punicum secundum per annos decem et octo Romanas vires extenuavit (p. 234. 13).

Augustine probably included Florus in the alii scriptores eorum defectioni solis addunt etiam subitam tempestatem, DCD III. 15 (p. 117. 8); and perhaps also de manubiis Capitolium fabricantem (p. 118. 8) is taken from Florus (Epit. 1. 1. 7) de manubiis captarum urbium templum erexit: compare however Livy 1. 55. 7.

In DCD III. 20 Florus has been used as a secondary authority when Augustine writes octavo vel nono a Poenis mense deleta est. See note p. 130. 10.

In DCD IV. 5 Florus (Epit. 2. 8. 3) is perhaps Augustine's authority for writing paucissimi gladiatores in Campania de ludo fugientes tres duces habuerunt. This is all the more likely if Florus is Augustine's authority for the epitome of the events of Roman history found in DCD III. 26.

All these ascertainable uses of Florus by Augustine are found in the third, fourth and fifth books of the City of God.

2. EUTROPIUS.

That the work of this epitomiser was well known to Augustine we have abundant evidence. Eutropius is used much as Florus is, but somewhat more as an independent source, even to the extent of preferring some of his statements to those both of Livy and Florus.

For similarity of language between the two authors compare DCD. III. 15 in oppido Tusculo Romae vicino quattuordecim, ut fertur, annos privatam vitam quietus habuit et cum uxore consenuit, which is almost a quotation from Eutropius (Brev. 1. 11): Tusculum se contulit quae civitas non longe ab urbe est, atque ibi per quattuordecim annos privatus cum uxore consenuit. In addition to the verbal

relationship between these two extracts, Eutropius has been also Augustine's only authority for two statements given: *quattuordecim annos* and *cum uxore consenuit*.

Specially noteworthy is the remembrance between DCD V. 18 (p. 226.21) *quoniam sicut Romanis eum tenere volentibus respondisse fertur, postea quam Afris servierat, dignitatem illic honesti civis habere non posset*, and Eutropius (Brev. 2.25) *offerentibus Romanis ut eum Romae tenerent, negavit se in ea urbe mansurum, in qua postquam Afris servierat, dignitatem honesti civis habere non posset*. Augustine had Eutropius before his eyes while writing this passage.

As Eutropius has been Augustine's authority in the latter half of DCD III. 15, so no doubt he includes him among the *alii scriptores* (p. 117.8). For the manner of the death of Numa Pompilius, Ancus Marcius, Tarquinius Priscus and Servius Tullius in this same chapter the authority is also Eutropius.

Augustine has also chosen to follow this epitome in opposition to better sources in the statement of the duration of the kingship at Rome—*per ducentos ferme et quadraginta tres annos* (p. 119.8), though Eutropius (Brev. 1.8.3) does not give anything corresponding to *ferme* of Augustine.

The same authority may be traced in the list of consuls of the year subsequent to the expulsion of the kings, DCD III. 16, though Augustine has here corrected the praenomen of Valerius—given *Lucius* by Eutropius Brev. 1. 9. 4—to *Publius* on the authority of Livy (2. 8. 9), while in DCD V. 18 he has preserved the error of Eutropius.

I have already shown (p. 31), as opposed to the view of Kuhlmann, that I do not regard *tres modios annulorum aureorum Carthaginem misit* (DCD III. 19) as a mere accident, and written independently of Eutro-

pius; and that Augustine has not merely reproduced the words of Eutropius, but has followed him as sole authority for *tres modios*.

Eutropius seems to have been the source also of DCD IV. 29.

There is no doubt whatever about the authority for the latter part of DCD V. 18. The remarkable similarity of language here between Eutropius (Brev. 2. 25) and Augustine (p. 226. 21) cannot be explained otherwise than as a clear case of the dependence of Augustine on Eutropius.

More evidence, not from similarity of language, but from agreement in subject matter, is found in the words *L. Valerium qui in suo defunctus est consulatu* (p. 227. 2). Here Augustine has followed Eutropius (Brev. 1. 11. 4) even in two mistakes, first, giving *Lucius* for the praenomen of Valerius, second, by making Valerius die during his consulship, both of which are in direct contradiction to Livy.

Another instance of Augustine having thus followed Eutropius in an error is found in DCD V. 22: *quintus ei (i.e. bello Italico) annus finem dedit*. See note p. 234. 13.

Again, for the *promissa etiam quarta parte regni*—the offer of Pyrrhus to Fabricius—(p. 227. 12) Eutropius was Augustine's only authority, unless this occurred in the lost thirteenth book of Livy. He has also had Eutropius before him for DCD V. 22, as will be seen from the notes on p. 234.

It will be seen from the above brief treatment of Eutropius that Kuhlmann is not correct when he writes (work cited above p. 19): *Praecipue trium veterum historicorum vestigia in Augustini de civitate Dei libro primo altero tertio cognoscuntur: C. Sallustii Crispi, Titi Livi, Iuli Flori*—omitting Eutropius, and again (on p. 20.) *Uno tantum loco l. 3. c. 15 altera in parte conscribenda, ubi quomodo reges*

Romani mortui sint brevissime complectendum erat, Eutropius videtur Augustino ob oculos fuisse; itemque sub finem c. 18 DCD l. 5 huius scriptoris vestigia secutus est.

AUGUSTINE'S METHOD OF EMPLOYMENT OF LIVY, FLORUS AND EUTROPIUS.

In regard to Augustine's manner of employment of Livy, Florus and Eutropius a few words more may be said. For lists and epitomes of events of Roman history, and for accounts of distinguished Romans, he seems to have employed Florus and Eutropius whenever they gave the information which he required, evidently because their works were briefer and more handy for such reference than the long and detailed account of Livy. He shows, however, such an extensive knowledge of Livy's history that we may not doubt that, even in such cases, he knew the account of Livy, which he did not always follow. When the information Augustine sought was not to be found in Florus or Eutropius, or found in them incomplete or otherwise not suited to his purpose, he had recourse to Livy.

As examples of what has been said we may observe that Florus was used in DCD III. 14 for the account of the mutual slaughter of Romans and Albans, the fight of the Horatii and Curiatii, and for the death of the sister of the surviving Horatius. Perhaps also the list in DCD III. 26 is from Florus, although the details given at the end of the chapter do not seem to be taken from Florus. We have shown already that the list of the victims of the *victoria Mariana* in DCD III. 27 has been taken from Florus, as also the events given in III. 28.

Somewhat more extensively has Eutropius been employed for such recapitulations; compare DCD III. 15 for the manner of the deaths of the kings: III. 16 (*ad fin.*) for the consuls of the year *qui consules quinque*

h a b u i t : perhaps also for the alterations in the boundary of the Roman state in the times of Hannibal, Hadrian and Iulianus respectively (DCD IV. 29).

Certain examples are found in DCD V. 18 where Eutropius has been employed for the accounts there given of Regulus, L. Valerius, Quintius Cincinnatus and Fabricius; and in DCD V. 22 for the enumeration of the different wars and their respective periods of duration.

Livy has been put the same service when Florus and Eutropius did not give the needed or suitable information, e. g. in DCD I. 23 what is related of Cato Uticensis, Torquatus and Caesar was evidently taken from a portion of Livy now lost. Livy was employed for the events given in DCD II. 17, the details of which are not given by the other writers, and for the list of prodigies in II. 24 and II. 25, not found in Florus or Eutropius.

The most conspicuous use of Livy in such a case is found in DCD III. 17 and III. 18 (p. 123-128); where he has been employed for the long review and conspectus of events of Roman history from the death of the consul Valerius until the beginning of the second Punic war, also in chapter 19 and 20 along with other authorities and in chapter 21 as the authority for the list of events; and again in DCD III. 24 and III. 31; and in DCD IV. 20 for the bravery of Mucius, Curtius and the Decii father and son.

3. LACTANTIUS.

Lactantius is mentioned by name in DCD XVIII. 23, and I think there are three traces of a use of his writings in the first ten books of the City of God. For example, for the statement made in DCD IX. 1: *ita ut ipsum Iovem ab Homero fateantur daemonem nuncupatum*, Lactantius (Div. Inst. 4. 27. 15) must be the source: *credant Homero qui summum illum Iovem daemonibus adgregavit*. In addition to the difficulty as to whether this is

really found in Homer, except by implication, Augustine's language *ab Homero fateantur* does not seem to mean that he got it from Homer himself. If Augustine had meant to imply direct Homeric authority or even the indirect authority of a Latin version, he would naturally have written *Homerus (ipse) fateatur* or some such expression.

In DCD IX. 20 *Daemones enim dicuntur ab scientia nominati* is perhaps taken from Lactantius (Div. Inst. 2. 14. 6) *daemones autem grammatici dictos aiunt quasi δαίμονας, id est peritos. ac rerum scios.*

The words *alios damnabiles quos et maleficos vulgus appellat* (DCD X. 9) bear so striking a resemblance to those of Lactantius (Div. Inst. 2. 16. 4) *et ii quos vere maleficos vulgus appellat* that it would seem Augustine must have had in mind Lactantius at this place.

4. JUVENAL.

Juvenal is not mentioned in the City of God or elsewhere by Augustine, but in Ep. 138. 3. 16 some verses are quoted from him. The words *perfrui diis iratis* (DCD II. 23) in connection with the name Marius seem to give a strong presumption that here Augustine had in mind the words of Juvenal (Sat. 1. 49) *fruitur dis iratis* — used of another Marius. See note p. 85. 23.

In addition to all these authorities given, Augustine had no doubt others whom we cannot certainly identify, especially writers of chronology; as *aliae fideliores litterae* and *qui chronicam historiam persecuti sunt* (DCD IV. 6).

Another literary source used by Augustine was the letter of Alexander the Great to his mother Olympias. This is treated of in the note on p. 327. 25.

CONSPECTUS

SHOWING ALL THE LITERARY SOURCES

(Except the Bible)

FOR THE FIRST TEN BOOKS OF THE *De Civitate Dei*.

BOOK I.

PREFACE. Virgil once cited.

CHAPTER

I	<i>None.</i>
2-4	Incidental use of Virgil, Horace, Cicero (or Ennius).
5	Sallust only.
6	Livy almost entirely—Virgil once used incidentally.
7-11	<i>None.</i>
12	Slight use of Lucan, and Cicero (?)
13	<i>None.</i>
14	Aulus Gellius used once.
15	Livy and Cicero.
16-18	<i>None.</i>
19	Livy and Virgil—chiefly Livy.
20-21	<i>None.</i>
22	Cicero.
23-24	Livy only.
25-29	<i>None.</i>
30-33	Livy only.
34	Unknown—an error.
35-36	<i>None.</i>

Livy is thus the chief literary source for the first book.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER

- 1-4 *None.*
 5 Livy.
 6 Persius, and perhaps an unknown source (for
 F u g a l i a).
 7 Persius and Terence—both incidental.
 8 *None.*
 9 Cicero only.
 10 *None.*
 11 Cicero and Labeo.
 12-13 Cicero.
 14 Cicero and Labeo—chiefly Cicero.
 15 Varro and Livy.
 16 Cicero and Livy.
 17 Sallust and Livy—chiefly Livy.
 18 Sallust, Livy, *a l i i s c r i p t o r e s* — chiefly
 Sallust.
 19 *None.*
 20 Cicero once.
 21 Sallust, Cicero, Ennius—chiefly Cicero.
 22 Sallust and Livy—slight use of Virgil.
 23 Livy. Juvenal used once (?)
 24-5 Livy only.
 26 *None.*
 27 Cicero only.
 28 *None.*
 29 Virgil once quoted.
 Cicero, Sallust and Livy are the three chief literary
 sources for the second book.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER

- 1 *None.*
 2-3 Virgil, Homer, Sallust.
 4 Varro only.
 5 Livy.

CHAPTER

- 6 *None.*
 7-8 Livy ; Virgil once.
 9 Livy, Varro, Cicero—chiefly Livy.
 10 Sallust, Virgil, Livy.
 11 Livy and Virgil—chiefly Livy.
 12 Livy and Varro.
 13 Livy, Lucan and Virgil—chiefly Livy.
 14 Florus, Livy, Sallust and Virgil—chiefly Florus and Livy.
 15 Cicero, Eutropius, Florus, Livy, Virgil — chiefly Cicero and Eutropius.
 16 Sallust, Livy, Virgil, Eutropius—chiefly Eutropius and Livy.
 17 Sallust, Livy, Varro—chiefly Sallust and Livy.
 18 Livy only.
 19 Livy, Florus, Eutropius—chiefly Florus and Livy.
 20 Livy and Florus—chiefly Livy.
 21-22 Livy only.
 23 *None*—Florus (?)
 24 Livy.
 25 Livy and Labeo—chiefly Livy.
 26 Livy only.
 27 Cicero, Lucan, Florus, Livy—chiefly Florus.
 28-29 Florus only.
 30 Florus (?) and unknown.
 31 Livy—Virgil once.

Thus there are four principal literary sources in the third book—Livy, Florus, Eutropius and Cicero.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER

- 1 Varro.
 2 Apuleius only.
 3 *None.*
 4 Cicero.
 5 Florus or Eutropius (?) or Livy (?)

CHAPTER.

- 6-7 Iustinus (Trogum Pompeium secutus),
some unknown aliae fideliores lit-
terae and some unknown qui chroni-
cam historiam persecuti sunt.
- 8-11 Varro chiefly—Virgil twice.
- 12-15 *None.*
- 16-19 Varro.
- 20 Varro, Cicero, Livy — chiefly Cicero and Livy.
- 21-24 Varro only.
- 25 *None.*
- 26 Cicero, Varro, Livy.
- 27 Varro only.
- 28 *None.*
- 29 Varro and Eutropius.
- 30 Cicero only.
- 31-32 Varro only.
- 33-34 *None.*
- Varro is the principal literary source for the fourth
book.

BOOK V.

PREFACE *None.*

CHAPTER

- I *None.*
- 2-3 Cicero only.
- 4 *None*
- 5 Cicero.
- 6-7 *None.*
- 8 Annaeus Seneca and Cicero.
- 9-10 Cicero.
- 11 *None.*
- 12 Sallust, Cicero, Virgil—chiefly Sallust and Virgil.
- 13 Horace and Cicero.
- 14-17 *None.*
- 18 Virgil, Livy, Eutropius, Florus—chiefly Eutropius.
- 19 Sallust, Virgil and unknown.

CHAPTER.

- 20 Cicero only.
 21 Unknown.
 22 Eutropius and Florus—chiefly Eutropius.
 23-24 *None.*
 25-26 *None*, partly Claudianus and Cicero.
 Cicero is the chief single source for the fifth book,
 and next to him come Livy, Eutropius and
 Florus.

BOOK VI.

PREFACE

AND

CHAPTER

- 1 *None*—but Virgil once used.
 2 Varro, Cicero, Terentianus Maurus.
 3-9 Varro only.
 10-11 Annaeus Seneca only.
 12 Varro.
 Varro is almost the only literary source for the sixth
 book.

BOOK VII.

PREFACE

None.

CHAPTER

- 1 Varro and Tertullian.
 2 Varro only.
 3 Varro and Sallust — chiefly Varro.
 4-8 Varro only.
 9 Varro—Virgil once.
 10 *None.*
 11-12 Varro—Sallust once.
 13-24 Varro only.
 25 Porphyry.
 26 *None*—Varro.
 27 Virgil and the history of Euhemerus quam
 Ennius in Latinum vertit elo-
 quium.

CHAPTER.

28-30 Varro.

31-32 *None.*

33-35 Varro only.

In the seventh book, as in the preceding, Varro is the principal source.

BOOK VIII.

CHAPTER

1 *None.*

2-4 Cicero.

5 Letter of Alexander the Great to his mother Olympias, and Varro and Cicero.

6-13 Cicero (?) Labeo (?) writers on Neoplatonism.

14 Apuleius only.

15 Apuleius—and Pliny (?)

16 Apuleius only.

17 Cicero and Apuleius.

18-26 Apuleius; Cicero once.

27 Letter of Alexander the Great to his mother Olympias.

Apuleius is the chief literary source for the eighth book.

BOOK IX.

CHAPTER

1 Lactantius.

2-3 Apuleius.

4-5 Cicero, Aulus Gellius, Virgil.

6-8 Apuleius only.

9 Sallust.

10 Plotinus.

11-13 Apuleius only.

14-15 *None.*

16 Apuleius.

17 Plotinus.

18 *None.*

CHAPTER

- 19 Labeo.
 20 Lactantius.
 21-22 *None.*
 23 Cicero (in his translation of Plato's *Timaeus*, see
 DCD XIII. 16).
 So also in the ninth book Apuleius is the principal
 literary source.

BOOK X.

CHAPTER

- 1 Virgil once.
 2 Plotinus.
 3 Cicero.
 4-5 *None.*
 6 Cicero (?)
 7-8 *None.*
 9 Lactantius, Porphyry, Apuleius — chiefly Porphyry.
 10-11 Porphyry only.
 12-13 *None.*
 14 Plotinus.
 15 *None.*
 16 Plotinus, Varro, Lucan, Livy — chiefly Varro.
 17-18 *None.*
 19 Porphyry.
 20 *None.*
 21 Virgil once, and Porphyry.
 22 *None.*
 23-24 Porphyry.
 25 *None.*
 26 Porphyry.
 27 Apuleius, Porphyry, Virgil.
 28-29 Porphyry.
 30 Porphyry, Plotinus, Virgil.
 31 Cicero and Porphyry.
 32 Porphyry.
 Porphyry—in the Latin version of Victorinus — is
 the principal literary source for the tenth book.

In the composition of Books I—V, full of historical color, we see that Augustine employed principally Livy, Salust, Florus, Eutropius, Cicero (chiefly for *history*), Labeo and Virgil. At the close of the fifth book he dropped these authors and took up for the philosophical-mythological books VI—X a different set composed of Apuleius, Plotinus, Porphyry, Plato (in incomplete versions and from general knowledge) and Cicero (chiefly for *philosophy*). Varro has been used in both divisions, but chiefly in the latter; and Augustine naturally deals with only the second part of Varro's great work — the sixteen books *De Rebus Divinis* — as suiting his theme.

Augustine's poetic quotations are confined — with but few exceptions — to the first five books.

Note also that long lists and brief epitomes are to be found largely in the first five books.

Of course Augustine uses the Latin Bible freely, both in the Vulgate and Itala. But these Biblical sources are so plain that they need no discussion here, and, moreover, nearly all the instances have been italicized and identified in Dombart's edition. Some expressions are merely suggested by Biblical language, but I have noted one citation which Dombart has overlooked: praef. p. 3.18, *Deus adiutor noster est* is a quotation from Ps. 61. 9.

NOTE ON THE COMPOSITION OF THE DE CIVITATE DEI.

A. D. 354. Augustine born.

A. D. 410. Final sack of Rome by Alaric. Orosius (Adv. Paganos, 40) gives the date: *anno itaque ab urbe condita MCLXIII irruptio urbis per Alaricum facta est.*

A. D. 412. Letter of Marcellinus to Augustine (BE vol. II. col. 515) reminding him of his promise to write.

Before 415. Book I written and perhaps issued separately as a timely short answer to the pagani. Augustine calls it a *volumen*, not a *liber*, at its end: *Hic itaque modus sit huius voluminis* (p. 52. 31), whereas at the opening of Book IV, he speaks of it as in *fine primi libri* (p. 146. 29). At the end of Book V he expressly states that the first three books had been issued as one treatise: *quorum tres priores edidissem et in multorum manibus esse coepissent* (p. 241. 10).

A. D. 415. In this year Augustine added Books IV and V to the first three already issued, as he states in his letter to Evodius written at the end of that year: *nam tribus illis libris De Civitate Dei . . . duos alios addidimus: quibus quinque libris satis disputatum arbitror*, etc. (BE. II. col. 742). By this time, then, the first five books are finished and, in the author's eyes, constitute the first completed section of a developed plan, which is to be completed by adding a similar second section (which becomes Books VI.-X.), as he himself promised at the end of his first book: *Deinceps dicendum est sicut primo libro polliciti sumus adversus eos qui propter vitam post mortem futuram necessarium existimant cultum deorum suorum, propter quam vitam Christiani sumus. His libro primo polliciti sumus refers to Postremo adversus eos dicetur*

qui . . . conantur asserere non propter vitae praesentis utilitatem, sed propter eam quae post mortem futura est (p. 52. 16).

After A. D. 415. When his second section of five books is completed, making ten books in all, he asserts with apparent inconsistency, that he will go on to complete his promise in the first book by writing *de duarum civitatum, exortu et procursu, et debitis finibus*—the subject matter of the next twelve books which constitute the rest of the *De Civitate Dei* (p. 460. 32). Such a promise does indeed occur in the first book, but in such a way as to suggest that he had in mind an additional discussion complementary to his original theme (DCD. I. 35, p. 51. 25.) The contradiction is apparent rather than real. In Book I he did have the thought of his greater task in mind—but incidentally, and in suspense until his definitely mapped first treatise I—X was worked out. *Then* the suggestion of the latter treatise (XI-XXII) naturally takes on fuller form.

The second part of the *De Civitate Dei* (Books XI-XXII) gives scarcely any information measuring the progress of the composition. There are three sections of four books each. At the very opening (p. 462. 4-14) he merely reaffirms what he had written at the end of book X, and starts in his first section of four books: *exordia istarum duarum civitatum*. At the end of this first section (XI-XIV) (II p. 57) there is no analysis or summary, and he passes on without comment to his second section (XV-XVII). At the end of the second section he states that he has been arguing *quisnam sit duarum civitatum . . . excursus* (II. p. 345. 14), and hints at the character of his approaching third (or final) section: *percipiat unaquaeque suum finem* (II p. 345. 23).

The final section (XIX-XXII) opens with such evidence of deliberation, as though the author had rested after his wearisome progress and retired into his thoughts for a fully considered last effort as he comes to the consummation, that it

seems necessary to suppose he did not pass *currente calamo* from the second to the third section, but took a breathing space—more than days no doubt—but whether weeks or months, none can say—just a literary pause, enough to hold in the reins and look around before essaying the last dash.

The eighteenth book seems to have been finished shortly before 425 A. D., as may be argued from *per trīginta ferme annos* in its last chapter (Dombart II. 345. 1.). This leaves only a short time for Augustine to hasten to the end, and the increasing speed of this final section when compared with the more labored earlier parts, is plain to every reader.

When he stops, his last sentence shows he knew his *magnum opus et arduum* was over: *Videor mihi debitum ingentis huius operis adiuvante Domino reddidisse*, and so on to his concluding emphatic *Amen. Amen.*

A. D. 426-427. We can set no exact dates for the stages of his work after the first five books. His *Retractations*, however, written A. D. 426-427, mention the *De Civitate* as a completed and revised work (II. cap. 43) and give an analysis. Augustine says: *Quod opus me tenuit per aliquot annos*, apparently not feeling quite certain of the exact number of years. It was written between 410 and 426-427, apparently after the letter of Marcellinus in 412. We may therefore take 412-426 as the outer limits of its composition.

A. F. WEST.

II. ANNOTATIONS ON BOOKS I.-X.

(The pair of numbers prefixed to each annotation refers to the page and line in Dombart's text.)

BOOK I.

Page 1, line 3. Roma Gothorum irruptione agentium sub rege Alarico eversa est.

Rome was burned and sacked by the Goths in the year 410, after the third siege in the second invasion of Alaric. Augustine in his *Sermones ad populum*, 106. 9. 10, (works BE, vol. 5) in referring to the fall of Rome also notices the pagan charge that this calamity was due to the Christians. See also Ep. 99, (BE. vol. 2); and Orosius, *Adversus Paganos* 7. 37-40, *Adest Alaricus, trepidam Romam obsidet, turbat, irrum-pit*. Orosius gives the date (chapter 40) as 410 A. D. *anno itaque ab urbe condita MCLXIII, irruptio urbis per Alaricum facta est*.

Opposite positions have been taken by different scholars as to Augustine's attitude to the fall of the Roman empire, some asserting that as a patriot he showed the most intense sympathy, others that as a Christian apologist he was utterly indifferent to the catastrophe. Ozanam (*History of Civilization in the Fifth Century*, Eng. trans. vol. 1. p. 22): "But the catastrophe which terrified the whole world afforded no astonishment to St. Augustine, whether his great genius was less bound by an antique patriotism, or whether love had raised it to calmer heights, he was able to measure with a firmer glance the portentous events around him." Gregorovius, (*History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, Eng. trans. vol. 1. p. 169): "If the laments of the former (i. e. Jerome) express the consciousness of the ancient political greatness of Rome, the heart of the African Augustine is touched by no such considerations. The greatest genius among the theologians of the Roman church was only intoxicated with enthusiasm at the victory of Christianity."

McCabe (St. Augustine and his Age p. 298) "The truth is that Augustine had scarcely a spark of human sympathy with the disasters of Rome. The sermon (*De urbis excidio*), which he preached on the receipt of the news, expresses only an eagerness to draw spiritual profit from the event." On the other hand as opposed to these three citations we have the opinions of Dill (*Roman Society in the last Century of the Western Empire*, Bk. 1, chap. 3, p. 65): "Yet here S. Augustine is guilty of a patriotic inconsistency. He is, after all, a true Roman at heart. He is proud of the great past of Rome. and of the qualities which had given her her place in the world;" and E. de Pressensé's article on St. Augustine (in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*): "The effect which his eloquence produces is all the greater because we feel that Christian as he is, he remains still a citizen. Christianity has not inspired him with a selfish contempt of human sufferings, under the pretext that they form part of the plan mapped out in prophecy. He mourns over the calamities of Rome, but his tears do not conceal from him the destinies of the City of God:" and that mentioned by McCabe (p. 298): "A recent French writer ingeniously concludes that Augustine's 'soul was rent' by the news of the fall of Rome, but he avoided the subject in the excessive pain it gave him."

To decide between these two conflicting sets of opinions we must go to Augustine himself. Compare *De urbis excidio sermo* 2. 3, *Horrenda nobis nuntiata sunt; strages facta, incendia, rapinae, interfectiones, excruciationes hominum: verum est, multa audivimus, omnia genuimus, saepe flevimus, vix consolati sumus; non abnuo, non nego multa nos audisse, multa in illa urbe esse commissa. In 2. 4, he speaks of the insignificance of the sufferings at the fall of Rome compared with eternal punishment, compara ad Gehennam, et leve est omne quod cogitas. Hic temporalis, ibi aeternus est,*

et qui torquet et qui torquetur. He also shows the necessity of repentance, and that God did not treat the city as it deserved, but in a sense spared it. He concludes with the lesson of the utility of temporal tribulation. Compare Sermo 105. 9. 12, Sed non dicat de Roma, dictum est de me; O, si taceat de Roma: quasi ego insultator sim, et non potius Domini deprecator, et vester qualiscunque exhortator. Absit a me ut insultem. Avertat Deus a corde meo et a dolore conscientiae meae. Ibi multos fratres non habuimus? non adhuc habemus? Portio perigrinantis Ierusalem civitatis non ibi magna degit? These words would seem to imply that his hearers, or some one, had accused him of using words of indifference or of insult (quasi ego insultator) over the disasters of Rome. It is most remarkable that in the whole City of God there is not one really sympathetic reference adequate to the greatness of the calamities caused by the fall of Rome. It is true in the passage cited above from the De urbis excidio sermo Augustine says omnia genuimus, saepe flevimus, vix consolati sumus. But this isolated instance of the expression of his sorrow should not be stretched so far as some scholars have stretched it. Prof. Dill cites two passages from DCD to show Augustine was "proud of the great past of Rome and of the qualities which had given her her place in the world," namely DCD V. 15 his omnibus artibus tamquam vera via nisi sunt ad honores imperium gloriam; honorati sunt in omnibus fere gentibus, imperii sui leges inposuerunt multis gentibus. perceperunt mercedem suam; but Augustine had no such sentiment that I can discover in regard to her *present*. He was indeed both proud and tender as he thought of the ancient civic and moral grandeur of Rome, despite her paganism. Compare his exhortation in

DCD II. 29: o indoles Romana laudabilis, o progenies Regulorum Scaevolarum Scipionum Fabriciorum; Tunc enim tibi gloria popularis adfuit. Expergiscere, dies est, sicut expectata es in quibusdam (and so on through the chapter). Professor Dill also refers to DCD V. 21 without specifying which words. We give those which would most favor his own view: Ille igitur unus verus Deus, qui nec iudicio nec adiutorio deserit genus humanum, quando voluit et quantum voluit Romanis regnum dedit, qui dedit Assysiis vel etiam Persis. In these words where is the feeling about the present? They seem to put Rome only on the same plane with Assyria and Persia; yet it is not unpatriotic, but like Rudyard Kipling's passionate 'one with Nineveh and Tyre' in his 'Recessional'.

Of course we are surprised to find so little *lacrimarum* in Augustine in face of so great a calamity as the fall of the mistress of the world. This is emphasised by the contrast with the words of Jerome Ep. 126. 2 (works BE vol. 1, col. 1086): Ezechielis volumen olim aggre-di volui. sed in ipso dictandi exordio ita animus meus Occidentalium provinciarum, et maxime urbis Romae vastatione confusus est ut, iuxta vulgare proverbium, proprium quoque ignorarem vocabulum; diuque tacui, sciens tempus esse lacrimarum; also Ep. 128. 4: Proh nefas! orbis terrarum ruit; in nobis peccata non ruunt. Urbs inclita et Romani imperii caput, uno hausta est incendio. Nulla est regio quae non exules Romanos habeat. In cineres ac favillas sacrae quondam ecclesiae conciderunt

We must also remember that Jerome did not write any great work called forth by the fall of Rome, in which he might more fitly embody his thoughts.

1. 6 usitato nomine paganos:

The name *paganus* as a synonym for *gentes* or *gentiles* was in common use at this time and even previously. Compare Jerome Ps. 41: *Siquidem pagani deos suos digito ostendunt.*

1. 9. libros *de civitate Dei.*

Of the twenty-two books under the title of *De Civitate Dei*, it is really only the second part (Books XI.–XXII. which treats of the *de civitate Dei* in the strict sense. The first part (Books I.–X.) deals mainly with the *terrena civitas*. This incongruity about the name of the work Augustine himself noticed and explained: *Ita omnes viginti et duo libri, cum sicut de utraque civitate conscripti, titulum tamen a meliore acceperunt, ut de civitate Dei potius vocarentur* (p. 2. 6).

1. 10. Quod opus per aliquot annos me tenuit.

See Prof. A. F. West's Note on the Composition of the *De Civitate Dei*, p. 60.

3. 10. Gloriosissimam civitatem Dei.

An echo of Ps. 86. 3 so often quoted by Augustine in this work: *gloriosa dicta sunt de te, civitas Dei*. This announcement of the theme in the very opening words, in the ancient manner, occurs in similar words at the opening of the second part: *Civitatem Dei dicimus* (DCD XI. 1.)

3. 17. fili carissime Marcelline.

His name was Flavius Marcellinus. He was brother of Apringius who became proconsul of Africa. He was first commended by Jerome to Augustine for the elucidation of some

questions which were troubling him, and was kindly received by Augustine, between whom and Marcellinus we have extant a considerable correspondence, especially with reference to Volusianus, the friend of Marcellinus, whom the latter was very eager for Augustine to persuade to embrace the Christian faith. Marcellinus was also appointed by Honorius to preside over the conference between the Donatists and Catholics, in which capacity his conduct was admired by Augustine. (Compare Augustine, Ep. 141, Cod. Theod. 16. 11. 5). Marinus, after the revolt, defeat and death of Heraclian, seized and imprisoned Marcellinus on the charge of complicity with the party of the former, and then caused his execution. In *Retract.* 2. 33 and 37 Augustine speaks of his dedication to Marcellinus of *De peccatorum meritis et remissione, et de Baptismo parvulorum*, and *De Spiritu et littera*. Compare Augustine Epp. 128, 129, 133, 134, 139, 141, 151, 166. et al.

4. 13. multi vero in eam tantis exardescunt ignibus odiorum tamque manifestis beneficiis redemptoris eius ingrati sunt, ut hodie contra eam linguas non moverent, nisi ferrum hostile fugientes in sacratis eius locis vitam . . . invenirent.

See Orosius, *Adv. Paganos* 7. 39. 1: adest Alaricus, trepidam Romam obsidet turbat irrumpit, dato tamen praecepto prius, ut si qui in sancta loca praecipueque in sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli basilicas confugissent, hos inprimis inviolatos securosque esse sinerent.

Augustine *DCD* I. 2 ad init. (p. 5. 26) challenges the heathen to read the records of wars *vel ante conditam Romam vel ab eius exortu et imperio* and see if they could find *aliquem ducem*

barbarorum praecepisse, ut inrupto oppido nullus feriretur, qui in illo vel illo templo fuisset inventus. Compare also De urbis excidio sermo 7. 7: multi in locis sanctis vivi salvique servati sunt.

5. 30. aliquem ducem barbarorum praecepisse ut inrupto oppido nullus feriretur qui in illo vel illo templo fuisset inventus.

That Augustine has written these words either very ignorantly, or in the heat of the conflict against the pagans, very thoughtlessly, is evident. Even his Benedictine editors point this out in the note on this place which reads:—Augustinum praetierunt nonnulla huius rei litteris Graecis et Latinis consignata exempla. Nam refert Arrianus lib. 2 de rebus gestis Alexandri (cap. 24) capta Tyro, iis qui in templum Herculis confugerant, Alexandrum percipisse. De Agesilao etiam Xenophon in Ag. (cap. 2) et lib. 4 de rebus Graecorum (cap. 3), Plutarchus (cap. 19) et Emilius Probus in Agesilao (cap. 4) narrant ipsum, Atheniensibus et Boeotiis eorumque sociis in pugna Coroneam devictis, noluisse eos laedi qui in Minervae templum se receperant. To these examples there might be added others.

8. 9. cordatos homines.

The only instance of the word *cordatos* in the DCD. It savors of Ennius, but Augustine probably got it from Cicero, who quotes it from Ennius in *egregie cordatus homo* (Tusc. 1.9.18) and in *egregie cordatus . . . ab Ennio dictus* (De Re pub. 1.18.30). Annaeus Seneca and Lactantius, both of whom were read and quoted by Augustine, also used it, the former in *cordatus*

h o m o (Lud. de morte Claudii 12), the latter in the comparative form *cordatior* (Div. Inst. 3.20.2). Augustine also doubtless met the word in the *virii cordati* of Job. 34.10, which is the vulgate rendering, but *cordati* was not found in the Itala, which gave *prudentes corde*.

9. 31. Cato.

All the ancient editors and the best MSS. (C. A. K. F.) read *Cato* in this passage, though the words quoted here from Sallust Cat. 51 are from a speech of *Caesar*. Dombart and Hoffmann retain the reading of the MSS., and the former adds (page 10) *Augustinus parum accurate rem tractat*. The Benedictine editors emend it, reading *Caesar*. Augustine is evidently either in error here or had a different reading in his text of Sallust, as the Bened. note states *Quod si in eo Augustinus, quod eruditus nonnunquam contingit, memoria lapsus est, aut Sallustio usus vario sive mendoso*.

11. 1. Marcus Marcellus, qui Syracusas . . . cepit, refertur eam prius flevisse ruituram et ante eius sanguinem suas illi lacrimas effudisse . . .

See Livy 25.24.11: Marcellus ut . . . urbem . . . subiectam oculis vidit, in lacrimasse dicitur. Val. Max. 5.1.4: M. Marcelli clementia quam clarum quamque memorabile exemplum haberi debet, qui captis ab se Syracusis in arce earum constitit, ut . . . fortunatam ex alto cerne-ret: ceterum casum eius lugubrem intuens fletum cohibere non potuit. Florus Epit. 1.22.33 mentions the fact that the city was defended by Archimedes, and Eutropius Brev. 3. 14 speaks of its capture but, like Florus, omits details. Compare also Cic. In Verrem 4.52.115. Livy is clearly Augustine's authority.

11. 5. constituit edicto, ne quis corpus liberum violaret.

The words *ne quis corpus liberum violaret* occur verbatim in Livy 25.25.7, who also seems to be the only authority for this statement, and we conclude he is the source of Augustine's account.

11. 11. Fabius, Tarentinae urbis ever-
sor, a simulacrorum depraedatione se
abstinuisse laudatur. Nam cum ei scriba
suggessisset quid de signis deorum...
fieri iuberet, continentiam suam etiam
iocando condidit 'Relinquamus,
inquit, Tarentinis deos iratos.'

This Fabius was the famous Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator. Augustine derives the story from Livy, who appears to be the only authority for the details here given. See Livy 27.16.8: *sed maiore animo generis eius praeda abstinuit Fabius quam Marcellus, qui interroganti scribae quid fieri signis vellet . . . deos iratos Tarentinis relin-
qui iussit*. Here Livy suggests the comparison of Marcellus and Fabius.

16. 12. humanus dies

This is a distinctly Christian expression. Literally "human day" or "the day of man," the opposite of *dies Domini*, and so usually "human life," "man's judgment." Thus *aut ab humano die* "or by man's judgment," 1 Cor. 4.3.

16. 29. speculatores.

"Watchmen"—this word occurs 19 times in the Vulgate. Augustine has just quoted it from Ezech. 33.6.

19. 11. Paulinus noster, Nolensis epis-
copus, ex opulentissimo divite volun-
tate pauperrimus quando et ipsam
Nolam barbari vastaverunt, cum ab eis
teneretur, sic in corde suo, ut ab eo

postea cognovimus, precabatur : 'Domine, non ex crucier propter aurum et argentum, ubi enim sint omnia mea, tu scis'.

This is related after a personal interview (ut ab eo postea cognovimus). Paulinus was born in 353 and after having spent many years in the services of the world, during which he enjoyed high civil honors, he accepted Christianity and was baptised 389. He then gave up public life and visited Florence, where he met Ambrose, and Rome, where he met Pope Siricius. Thence he passed to Nola and was appointed bishop in 409. This office he faithfully discharged until his death, which took place in 431. Of his writings we have extant his Epistulae and Poemata. To him also is attributed in the MSS. the Passio S. Genesii. This is the only place in the DCD where Augustine quotes the oral words of a contemporary. Elsewhere he refers to him and had a considerable correspondence with him. Ep. 27 is addressed to Paulinus and is full of his praises. Ep. 186.12.39: *Fragrant enim epistulae tuae odore sincerissimo Christi, ubi germanissimus gratiae ipsius dilector et confessor appares.* We learn from Ep. 42 that Paulinus wrote a work against the pagans which Augustine repeatedly asked him to forward. The fact that Nola was sacked by the Goths in 410 is preserved for us by Augustine alone. It was sacked by them on their southward march through Campania after their destruction of Rome. This march is mentioned by Procopius: *De bello Vandalico* 1.2.24; Sozomen H. E. 9.8, but they omit to mention Nola. Augustine refers to the same event in his *De cura pro mortuis gerenda* 16.19, where he says of the appearance of Saint Felix *cum a barbaris Nola oppugnaretur, audivimus non incertis rumoribus, sed testibus certis*, and it is highly probable that the same *testibus certis* is the source of the information given above by Augustine. Hodgkin says (*Italy and her Invaders*, vol. 1, p. 806), "We

hear incidentally of one captured town, Nola, which had resisted Hannibal when flushed with his great success at Cannae, but which apparently did not delay the victorious march of Alaric," and then records the incident about Paulinus of Nola.

23. 2. Verum tamen sepulturae curam etiam eorum philosophi contempserunt.

Compare Soerates' reply to his friends in regard to his burial in the death scene at the close of the *Phaedo*. See also Cic. *Tusc.* 1.43.102-104 for the reply of Theodorus to Lysimachus, who threatened to crucify him, 'Istis, quaeso' inquit, 'ista horribilia minitare purpuratis tuis; Theodori quidem nihil interest humine an sublime putescat; and for the story of Diogenes: proici se iussit inhumatum. Tum amici: 'volucrisne et feris?' 'Minime vero,' inquit, 'sed bacillum propter me quo abigam ponitote' 'Qui poteris?' illi, 'non enim senties' 'Quid igitur mihi ferarum laniatus oberit nihil sentienti?'; and the reply of Anaxagoras to his friends' enquiry whether he wished to be removed to his native Clazomenae si quid accidisset: 'Nihil necesse est' inquit, 'undique enim ad inferos tantundem viae est.'

24. 15. Sunt quidem et alia quae sancti patriarchae de corporibus suis vel condendis vel transferendis prophetico spiritu dicta intelligi voluerunt.

For condendis compare the directions given by Jacob Gen. 49.29, sepelite me cum patribus meis in spelunca duplici quae est in agro Ephron Hethaei, and for transferendis the directions of Joseph Gen. 50.24, asportate ossa mea vobiscum de loco isto.

25. 9. qui tamen in suis litteris credunt Arionem Methymnaeum, nobilissimum citharistam, cum esset deiectus e navi, exceptum delphini dorso et ad terras esse pervectum.

The earliest mention of this story occurs in Hdt. 1.23, 24. Herodotus relates how Arion stood on board and played before those who coveted his money, and how when he ceased they threw both him and his κιθάρα into the sea and τὸν δὲ δελφίνα λέγουσι ὑπολαβόντα ἐξενείκαι ἐπὶ Ταΐναρον.

Augustine, however, hardly went to Herodotus for it. Nor could he well get it from Cicero, who only once (Tusc. 2.27.67) refers to Arion: praesto est qui excipiat vel delphinus ut Arionem Methymnaeum. Compare Ovid Fasti 2.110 sq. Hyginus Fab. 194 also gives a full account. But I have no doubt that Augustine got the story from Aulus Gellius, whose writings he refers to in the DCD IX.4. See N. A. 16.19 where Gellius gives it on the authority of Herodotus: fabulam scripsit Herodotus super fidicine illo Arione.

25. 21. Marcus Regulus, imperator populi Romani Captivus apud Carthaginienses fuit. Qui cum sibi mallent a Romanis suos reddi quam eorum tenere captivos ad hoc impetrandum etiam istum praecipue Regulum cum legatis suis Romam miserunt, prius iuratione constrictum si quod volebant minime peregisset rediturum esse Carthaginem.... in senatu contraria persuasit.... Nec post hanc persuasionem a suis ad hostes redire compulsus est... At illi eum excogitatis atque horrendis cruciatibus necaverunt. Inclusum quippe angusto ligno, ubi stare cogeretur, clavisque acutissimis undique confixo..., etiam vigilando peremerunt.

There were many sources of information at hand in regard to Regulus which Augustine might consult. See Livy Epit. 18 Regulus missus a Carthaginensibus ad senatum ut de pace et, si eam non posset impetrare, de commutandis captivis ageret, sed iure iurando adstrictus rediturum se Carthaginem si commutari captivos non placuisset, utrumque negandi auctor senatui fuit, et cum fide custodita reversus esset, supplicio a Carthaginensibus de eo sumpto perit. Also Florus Epit. 1. 18. 23 sq. Eutrop. Brev. 1. 21, 1. 25. Val. Max. 1. 1. 14, 9. 2. Ext. 1, Carthaginienses Atilium Regulum palpebris resectis machinæ in qua undique praeacuti stimuli eminebant, inclusum vigilantia pariter et continuo tractu doloris necaverunt. Also Cic. De Off. 3. 26. 99. sq. In 3. 27. 100 Cicero writes *vigilando necabatur* which Augustine may have had in mind in writing *vigilando peremerunt*, Id. De Finn. 2. 20. 65 *cum vigiliis et fame cruciaretur*. In such variety of authors it is impossible to say Augustine used only one or, if so, which one, while it would seem from the words (p. 26, 33) *Si autem dicunt M. Regulum etiam in illa captivitate illisque cruciatibus corporis animi virtute beatum esse potuisse* that Augustine had before him Cicero dicet *pro me ipsa virtus nec dubitabit isti vestro beato M. Regulum antepone...* *clamat virtus beatiorem fuisse quam potantem in rosa Thorium* (De Finn. 2. 20. 65). See id. 5. 29. 83. Yet Augustine must have had in mind also the detailed account of Regulus as was found in the eighteenth book of Livy, now no longer extant, in which no doubt something corresponding to *vigilando peremerunt* was found, and probably in the main Augustine has here followed Livy's account.

27. 3. cum aliud civitas non sit quam concors hominum multitudo.

See Augustine's letter to Marcellinus (Ep. 138, 10) quid est autem civitas nisi multitudo hominum in quoddam vinculum redacta concordia?

See Cic. De Re pub. 1. 25. 39. Augustine discusses Cicero's theory of the state in DCD XIX. 21.

30. 14. Obstetrix virginis cuiusdam integritatem manu velut explorans sive malevolentia sive inscitia sive casu, dum inspicit, perdidit.

This is some story for which there appears to be no literary source except this passage.

31. 12. Lucretiam certe, matronam nobilem veteremque Romanam, pudicitiae magnis efferunt laudibus. Huius corpore cum violenter oppresso Tarquinii regis filius libidinose potitus esset, illa scelus improbissimi iuvenis marito Collatino et propinquo Bruto . . . indicavit eosque ad vindictam constrinxit. Deinde . . . se peremit.

Augustine's account seems to follow the story as told in detail by Livy (1. 57-59). See also Florus Epit. 1. 1. 7, and Eutrop. Brev. 1. 8. 2: Nam cum filius eius et ipse Tarquinius iunior nobilissimam feminam Lucretiam eandemque pudicissimam, Collatini uxorem, stuprasset eaque de iniuria marito et patri et amicis questa fuisset, in omnium conspectu se occidit. Eutropius thus adds et amicis which is not given in Livy nor followed by Augustine. Compare Cic. De Finn. 2. 20. 66 who says testata civis, Id. 5. 22. 64, De Re pub. 2. 25. 46: patris et propinquorum. De Legg. 2. 4. 10, Ovid Fasti 2. 760 sq.

Juv. 10. 293. While these sources give substantially the same account, Augustine does not follow them but Livy, who seems to make only Brutus and Collatinus go to see Lucretia, and adds *conclamat vir paterque* (Livy 1. 58) after her suicide before their eyes. Dion. Hal. Antiq. Rom. 4. 64 gives the fullest account of the interview previous to the crime.

31. 20. *Egregie quidam ex hoc veraciterque declamans ait: 'Mirabile dictu, duo fuerunt et adulterium unus admisit'.*

Nothing nearly approaching to these words is found in any account of Lucretia with which I am acquainted. Augustine says they were spoken by *quidam declamans*, and they evidently came from a declamation in some school of rhetoric. Juvenal Sat. 1. 16. and 7. 150 and Quintilian Inst. Or. 10. 5. 13-14 give some samples of the subjects chosen for such declamations, and this famous incident was probably a trite theme.

Compare for the form of the expression Livy 1. 58. 7, *ceterum corpus est tantum violatum, animus insons.*

31. 29. *Nam ille patria cum patre pulsus est.*

The source is Livy 1. 60. 2; for the passage see note on 31. 12.

34. 4. *in sanctis canonicis libris.*

Augustine in the *De Doctrina Christiana*, chap. 8, gives his opinion of the nature and number of the *libri canonici*, from which we learn that the canon as received by Augustine included all the books of our present Bible, and the apocrypha also.

35. 4. *Manichaeorum errori.*

Augustine was a follower of this sect for nine years and was well acquainted with all their tenets; Conf. 4. 1: *Per idem tempus annorum novem, ab undevigesimo anno aetatis meae, usque ad*

duodetrigesimum seducebamur et seducebamus, falsi atque fallentes in variis cupiditatibus. After his conversion he bitterly opposed the system of Manichaeism as may be seen from his numerous attacks on it in his Confessions. He also wrote many works to refute it, among which are *De moribus Manichaeorum*, *De libero arbitrio*, *De vera religione*, *De duabus animabus contra Manichaeos*, *Contra Adimantum Manichaei discipulum*, *Contra epistolam Manichaei quam vocant fundamenti*, *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, *De actis cum Felice Manichaeo*, *De natura boni*, *Contra Secundinum*, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, *Disputatio contra Fortunatum*. Manichaeism held good and evil to be coordinate and eternal.

Compare Augustine, *De Haeresibus* 46: Manichaei a quodam Persa exstiterunt, qui vocabantur Manes.... Iste duo principia inter se diversa et adversa, eademque aeterna et coaeterna, hoc est semper fuisse, composuit: duasque naturas atque substantias, boni scilicet et mali.... opinatus est. Quarum inter se pugnam et commixtionem et boni a malo purgationem, et boni quod purgari non poterit, cum malo in aeternum damnationem secundum sua dogmata asseverantes.... et passim.

36. 27. Ille potius Cleombrotus in hac animi magnitudine reperitur, quem ferunt lecto Platonis libro, ubi de immortalitate animae disputavit, se praecipitem dedisse de muro atque ita ex hac vita emigrasse ad eam, quam credidit esse meliorem. Nihil enim urgebat aut calamitatis aut criminis.

Compare Cic. *Tusc.* i. 34. 84: Callimachi quidem epigramma in Ambraciotam Cleom-

brotum est quem ait, cum ei nihil accidisset adversi, e muro se in mare abiecissee lecto Platonis libro. Compare also Cic. Pro Scauro 3. 4. which seems to be the literary authority for saying the book was the Phaedo.

Compare Lact. Div. Inst. 3. 18. 9. quid Ambra-ciotes ille, qui cum eundem librum perlegisset, praecipitem se dedit nullam aliam ob causam nisi quod Platonem credidit?

38. 1. nisi illum Catonem qui se Uticae occidit.

See Livy Epit. 114, Florus Epit. 2. 13. 71 sq., Val. Max. 3. 2. 14, Lact. Div. Inst. 3. 18. 8, Aul. Gell. N. A. 12. 20. 3, 11, 14. Augustine probably derived this information from Livy 114, of which we have only the epitome in which is briefly mentioned the suicide of Cato. Here also we may conjecture Augustine found authority for writing quod amici eius etiam docti quidam viri qui hoc fieri prudentius dissuadebant, imbecillioris quam fortioris animi facinus esse censuerunt (p. 38. 5).

38. 10. Nam si turpe erat sub victoria Caesaris vivere, cur auctor huius turpitudinis filio fuit, quem de Caesaris benignitate omnia sperare praecepit?

The fact that Cato Uticensis commanded his son to hope from the clemency of Caesar does not seem to be mentioned in the writings of Cicero, Florus, Eutropius, Valerius Maximus, Velleius Paterculus, Lactantius or Aulus Gellius. It is most likely that Augustine found this in the 114th book of Livy of which we have only the epitome in which we find the words interveniente filio, so that Cato's son was present at his father's death; and no doubt on this occasion he received the above advice from his father. Another source in which Augustine might have found this information was the

ἐγκώμιον Κάτωνος which Plutarch (Vitae, Caes. 54 and Cic. 39) informs us was written by Cicero. Compare Aulus Gellius 13. 20. 3 M. Catonis, praetorii viri, qui bello civili Uticae necem sibi gladio manu sua conscivit, de cuius vita liber est M. Ciceronis qui inscribitur laus Catonis; of which we are assured by Cicero himself De Div. 2. 2. 3, Cato noster in horum librorum numero ponendus est. Orator 10. 35 Catone absoluto. Ad Att. 12. 4. 2 de Catone πρόβλημα Ἀρχιμήδειον est . . . ; ibid., 12. 5. 2, 12. 40. 1, 12. 41. 5, 12. 44. 1, 13. 27. 1, 13. 46. 2 legi epistolam (i. e. Caesaris ad Balbum): multa de meo Catone. Top. 94 Caesar contra Catonem meum. Compare also Tac. Ann. 4. 34, Quintilian 5. 10. 10

But it is more probable that Livy was Augustine's authority.

38. 13. Nam si eum filium, qui contra imperium in hostem pugnaverat, etiam victorem laudabiliter Torquatus occidit.

See Livy 8. 7 who gives a detailed account too long to cite. Cic. De Off. 3. 31. 112., De Finn. 1. 7. 23., pro Sulla 11. 32: An vero clarissimum virum generis vestri ac nominis nemo reprehendit, qui filium suum vita privavit ut in ceteros firmaret imperium.

See also Florus Epit. 1. 9., Val. Max. 2. 7. 6. Aulus Gellius N. A. 9. 13 relates the incident on the authority of the older historian Quadrigarius.

38. 21. tantum gloriae ipsius Caesaris, ne ab illo etiam sibi parceretur, ut ipse Caesar dixisse fertur, invidit.

Augustine no doubt found this statement in one of the lost books of Livy of which we have only the epitome. The only now extant Latin source that Augustine could have consulted would seem to be Val. Max. 5. 1. 10 Catonis quoque morte Caesar audita et se illius

gloriae invidere et illum suae invidisse dixit. But Augustine did not make use of Valerius Maximus.

Compare Plutarch, Vitae, Cato 72 ὡς δὲ ἤκουσε τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ λέγεται τοσοῦτον εἰπεῖν Ὡ Κάτων, φθονῶ σοι τοῦ θανάτου· καὶ γὰρ ἐμοὶ σὺ τῆς σπαντοῦ σωτηρίας ἐφθόνησας. Id. Vitae, Caesar 54 which gives almost the same words. Compare also Zonaras, a twelfth century writer, who followed and epitomized Dio Cassius, Epit. Hist: 10. 10. 13. Also Appian, Bellum Civile 2. 99: ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἔφη μὲν οἱ φθονῆσαι Κάτωνα καλῆς ἐπιδείξεως.

39. 22. nam in tanta victoria mansit pauperrimus.

Compare Val. Max. 4. 4. 6. consulibus scripsit vilicum in agello, quem septem iugerum in Pupinia habebat, mortuum esse, occasionemque nactus mercennarium amoto inde rustico instrumento discessisse, ideoque petere ut sibi successor mitteretur, ne deserto agro non esset unde uxor ac liberi sui alerentur. It is most likely Augustine had in mind the lost eighteenth book of Livy, the epitome of which gives a brief statement of the victory, defeat and death of Regulus. Florus does not mention the poverty of Regulus.

46. 29. Si Nasica ille Scipio vester quondam pontifex viveret, quem sub terrore belli Punici in suscipiendis Phrygiis sacris, cum vir optimus quaereretur, universus senatus elegit...

Compare Livy, 29. 14. 8: P. Scipionem... adulescentem nondum quaestorium, iudicaverunt in tota civitate virum bonorum optimum esse... P. Cornelius cum omnibus matronis Ostiam ire iussus obviam deae isque eam de nave accipere et in terram elatam tradere ferendam matronis...

Also Cic. De Harus. Resp. 13. 27: Hac igitur vate suadente quondam defessa Italia Punico bello atque ab Hannibale vexata sacra ista nostri maiores adscita ex Phrygia Romae conlocarunt; quae vir is accepit qui est optimus p. R. iudicatus P. Scipio. Compare also Val. Max. 7. 5. 2.; 8. 15. 3. Livy Epit. 49.

47, 12. At ille Scipio pontifex maximus vester, ille iudicio totius senatus vir optimus, istam vobis metuens calamitatem nolebat aemulam tunc imperii Romani Carthaginem dirui et decernenti ut dirueretur contradicebat Catoni.

Livy was no doubt the source: Epit 49 (ad. init.) inter M. Porcium Catonem et Scipionem Nasicam, quorum alter sapientissimus vir in civitate habebatur, alter optimus vir etiam a senatu iudicatus erat, diversis certatum sententiis est, Catone suadente bellum et ut tolleretur deletereturque Carthago, Nasica dissuadente. Also Florus, Epit. 1. 31. 4: Cato inexpiablem odio delendam esse Carthaginem et cum de alio consuleretur pronuntiabat, Scipio Nasica servandam, ne metu ablato aemulae urbis luxuriari felicitas inciperet.

See Plutarch, Vitae, Cato maior 27, who has preserved the account of Livy: ἐκείνο δ' ἤδη καὶ βιαίότερον τὸ περὶ παντὸς οὐδὲν ἄν ποτε πράγματος γνώμην ἀποφαινόμενον προσεπιφωνεῖν "οὕτως δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ Καρχηδόνα μὴ εἶναι" τοῦναντίον δὲ Πόπλιος Σκιπίων ὁ Νασικᾶς ἐπικαλούμενος αἰεὶ διετέλει λέγων καὶ ἀποφαινόμενος "δοκεῖ δέ μοι Καρχηδόνα εἶναι.

47. 22. saevis cruentisque seditionibus

The reference is probably to the agrariae contentiones of the duo clarissimi ingeniosissimi amantissimi plebis Romani viri Tiberius and Caius Gracchus. See Livy Epit. 58, 59. Florus Epit. 2. chaps. 1-4.

47. 23. deinde mox malarum conexione causarum bellis etiam civilibus tantae strages ederentur, tantus sanguis effunderetur, tanta cupiditate proscriptionum ac rapinarum ferveret inmanitas...

See Livy Epit. 69 sq., Florus Epit. 2. 6 sq.

48. 17. quod idem ipse vester pontifex maximus.... caveam theatri senatum construere molientem ab hac dispositione et cupiditate compescuit persuasitque oratione gravissima ne Graecam luxuriam virilibus patriae moribus paterentur obrepere.

See Livy Epit. 48 (ad. fin.) cum locatum a censoribus theatrum exstrueretur, P. Cornelio Nasica auctore tamquam inutile et nociturum publicis moribus ex senatus consulto destructum est. Also Val. Max. 2. 4. 1. sq. No doubt Augustine's authority was the now lost forty-eight book of Livy.

48. 25. Ut verbis eius commota senatoria providentia etiam subsellia, quibus ad horam congestis in ludorum spectaculo iam uti civitas coeperat, deinceps prohiberet adponi.

See Livy Epit. 48 (ad. fin.) populusque aliquamdiu stans ludos spectavit, also Val. Max. 2. 4. 2, cautum est ne quis in urbe pro-

piusve passus mille subsellia posuisse
sedensve ludos spectare vellet.

49. 8 ludi scaenici, spectacula turpitudinum et licentia vanitatum, non hominum vitiis sed deorum vestrorum iussis Romae instituti sunt....

49. 15. Dii propter sedendam corporum pestilentiam ludos sibi scaenicos exhiberi iubebant. . . . quia populo bellicoso et solis antea ludis circensibus adsueto ludorum scaenicorum delicata subintravit insania.

Compare Livy 7. 2. 3, et cum vis morbi nec humanis consiliis nec ope divina levaretur, victis superstitione animis ludi quoque scaenici, nova res bellicoso populo—nam circi modo spectaculum fuerat—inter alia caelestis irae placamina instituti dicuntur, and id. 36. 36. Also Val. Max. 2. 4. 4, nunc causam instituendorum ludorum ab origine sua repetam. . . . Livy is Augustine's source.

50. 8, vos theatra quaereretis intraretis impleretis et multo insaniora quam fuerant antea faceretis?

For the fact that great and widespread calamities tend to bring to the front the basest passions of men, compare Thucydides' account of the moral effects of the plague at Athens (book 2, 53 sq.) The same is recorded of the plague at Constantinople in 542, in that at Florence in the middle of the fourteenth century (recorded by Boccaccio in his *Decameron*), and in the Black Death in England in the seventeenth century.

50. 31. Romulus et Remus asylum constituisse perhibentur, quo quisque

confugeret ab omni noxa liber esset, augere quaerentes creandae multitudinem civitatis.

Where Romulus *and Remus* asylum constituisse perhibentur it is impossible to say. So far as I am aware there is no authority for it, and the statement seems to be a *μνημονικὸν ἀμάρτημα* on the part of Augustine.

See Livy. 1. 8. 5: *deinde ne vana urbis magnitudo esset, adliciendae multitudinis causa vetere consilio condentium urbes. . . . locum qui nunc saeptus descendentibus inter duos lucos est, asylum aperit*, which account is given of Romulus alone after the death of Remus recorded in chapter 7.

Compare Florus Epit. 1. 1. 9, *erat in proximo lucus; hunc asylum facit (Romulus)*.

Lactantius also, Divin. Inst. 2. 6. 13, says *Romulus constituit asylum*; also Vell. Pat. Hist. Rom. 1. 8. 5. It is worth notice that in DCD V. 17 (p. 223. 14) Augustine calls it *asylum Romuleum*.

BOOK II.

55. 33. ex quorum imperitia illud quoque ortum est vulgare proverbium: Pluvia deficit, causa Christiani sunt.

So far as I know these words do not occur in this form in any other writer. The nearest approach is found in Tertullian, *Apol:* 40 (ad init.) quod existiment omnis publicae cladis, omnis popularis incommodi Christianos esse in causam. Si Tiberis ascendit in moenia, si Nilus non ascendit in arva, si caelum stetit, si terra movit, si fames, si lues, statim Christianos ad leonem adclamatur; and *Ad Nationes* 1, 9 (ad init.) Si Tiberis redundaverit, si Nilus non redundavit, si caelum stetit, si terra movit, si Libitina (?) vastavit, si fames afflixit, statim omnium vox: Christianorum meritum (?)

Compare Cyprian, *Ad Demetrianum* 2; Sed enim cum dicas plurimos conqueri quod bella crebrius surgant, quod lues, quod fames saeviant, quodque imbres et pluvias serena longa suspendant nobis imputari, and also 3: Dixisti per nos fieri et quod nobis debeant imputari omnia iste quibus nunc mundus quatitur et urgetur, quod dii vestri a nobis non colantur.

Compare also Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum* 2. 684.

Et sunt qui nobis bella exprobrare sinistra

Non dubitent, postquam templorum sprevimus aras.

Compare Augustine Enarr. in Psal. 80. 1 which reads *et vetus quidem, sed a temporibus Christianis coepit proverbium, Non pluit Deus, duc ad Christianos.*

Tertullian (Apol. 40) points out to the pagans that manifold and great misfortunes happened to mankind before the introduction of Christianity. *Oro vos, ante Tiberium, id est ante Christi adventum, quantae clades orbem et urbes ceciderunt.* Also Ad Natt. 2. 18.

57. 7. *Veniebamus etiam nos aliquando adulescentes ad spectacula ludibriaque sacrilegiorum, spectabamus arrepticios, audiebamus symphoniacos, ludis turpissimis qui diis deabusque exhibebantur oblectabamur.*

Augustine is here speaking of something which he once had seen (*spectabamus*) and heard (*audiebamus*) and taken delight in (*oblectabamur*). For his former love of theatrical spectacles compare Conf. 3. 2. 2 *Rapiebant me spectacula theatrica, plena imaginibus miseriarum mearum et fomitibus ignis mei.* Compare also Lact. Div. Inst. 6. 20. 9 sq. *iis (spectaculis publicis) et delectantur et libenter intersunt; quae quoniam maxima sunt inritamenta vitiorum et ad corrumpendos animos potentissime valent . . .* also Div. Inst. Epit. 58 sq. Tertullian De Spectaculis 22, De Pudicitia 7.

57. 11. *Caelesti virgini.*

From Tertullian Apol. 24 we learn that the *Caelestis virgo* was peculiarly an African deity: *Unicuique etiam provinciae et civitati suus deus est, ut Syriae Astartes, ut Arabiae Dusares, ut Noricis Belenus, ut Af-*

ricae Caelestis. In chap. 23 he calls her *ista ipsa Virgo Caelestis pluviarum pollicitatrix*. He mentions her in chap. 12 and again in *Ad. Natt.* 2. 8, *Caelestis Afrorum*. Augustine as a North African would naturally have abundant opportunity of making himself familiar with the rites and with the manners of the worshipers of this African deity.

57. 11. *Berecynthiae matri.*

See *Livy* 29. 14; *Catullus*, carmen 63; *Tert. Apol.* 15, id. *Ad Natt.* 1. 10.

For the immorality of the heathen gods and goddesses see *Arnobius*, *Adv. Nationes*, lib. 5. *passim*.

58. 6. *Nasicam Scipionem, qui vir optimus a senatu electus est.*

See note p. 46, 29.

58. 21. *theatrum aedificari . . . prohibuit.*

See note p. 48, 17.

59. 25. *nec ubi Fugalia celebrarentur effusa omni licentia turpitudinum (et vere Fugalia, sed pudoris et honestatis).*

All that is known of the *Fugalia* is derived from this passage in Augustine, which seems to be the only place in extant Latin literature where the word occurs. The BE foot-note reads: *Fugalia festa fuerunt Romae in memoriam expulso- rum regum et liberatae reipublicae instituta, quae mense Februario celebrabantur post exacta Terminalia*. This is a mere guess from the etymology of the word. Perhaps Augustine means the *Regifugium pulsus ex urbe tyrannis* (*Auson.*, *Eclog.* 15. 13), but this may or may not be so. Saisset says in his note on this passage: "Que faut-il penser de ces *Fugalia*? Sont-ce les fêtes instituées en souvenir

de l'expulsion des rois, comme le conjecture un commentateur, ou bien faut-il croire à quelque méprise de saint Augustin?" The Totius Latinitatis Lexicon of Forcellini gives sub. h. v. *nomen proprium adiect. a fugalis absolute adhibitum in plur. num. tantum ad significanda festa quae Romae celebrabantur* VI. K. Mart. post Terminalia, in memoriam fugatorum regum, effusa omni licentia turpitudinis, ut ait Augustinus, 2. Civ. D. 6., (incorrectly quoting Augustine in the word turpitudinis).

62. 31. Quid autem hinc senserint Romani veteres, Cicero testatur in libris quos de re publica scripsit, ubi Scipio disputans ait....

63. 5. sicut in eisdem libris loquitur Africanus.

63. 23. Haec ex Ciceronis quarto de re publica libro ad verbum excerpta arbitratus sum.

All the passages which Augustine here gives from Cicero's Republic have been preserved by him alone. See Mueller's edition of Cic. De Re pub. 4. 10. 11.

63. 8. Cleonem, Cleophontem, Hyperbolum.

Cicero had probably in mind Thucydides and the comedians.

Compare Thucydides 3. 36 ad fin. Κλέων ὁ Κλεαινέτου ὦν καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα βιαίωτος τῶν πολιτῶν τῷ τε δήμῳ παρὰ πολλὸν ἐν τῷ τότε πιθανώτατος and 4.21 ἀνὴρ δημαγωγὸς κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ὦν καὶ τῷ πλήθει πιθανώτατος Id. 5. 16. also Aristoph. Ach. 289. ἀναίσχυντος εἶ καὶ βδελυρὸς ὦν προδότα τῆς πατρίδος. Cf. Id. ibid 377, 659; Vesp. 62, 242, 596, 759. For Kleophon see Aristoph. Thesm. 805.

καὶ Κλεοφῶν χείρων πάντως δήμου Σαλαβαχοῦς Id. Ranae 678.

For Hyperbolus see Thuc. 8. 73: Ὑπέρβολόν τε τινα τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μοχθηρὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὡστρακισμένον . . . διὰ πονηρίαν καὶ αἰσχύνην πόλεως, also Aristoph., Eq. 1304 ἄνδρα μοχθηρὸν πολίτην ὀξύνην Ὑπέρβολον.

63. 9. inquit

This word both in the singular and plural has two distinct uses in the DCD: (1) as a quote-word which Augustine uses to show he is quoting the words of an author. In this use it is equivalent to our quotation marks in printing or writing; (2) a much less frequent use as equivalent to our "they say," or the Greek λέγουσιν, or French "on dit," or German "man sagt."

65. 10. quod in eo quoque de re publica libro commemoratur, Aeschines Atheniensis, vir eloquentissimus, cum adulescens tragoedias actitavisset, rem publicam capessivit et Aristodemum, tragicum item actorem maximis de rebus pacis ac belli legatum ad Philippum Athenienses saepe miserunt.

This is the only place where this fragment is preserved. Mueller gives it, De Re pub 4. 11. 13.

66. 1. cum praesertim Labeo, quem huiusce modi rerum peritissimum praedicant, numina bona a numinibus malis ista etiam cultus diversitate distinguat, ut malos deos propitiari caedibus et tristibus supplicationibus asserat, bonos autem obsequiis laetis atque iucundis, qualia sunt, ut ipse ait, ludi convivia lectisternia.

There is some difficulty in regard to the person of this Labeo. There were several Labeones. Who is the Labeo to whom Augustine here refers and what was his praenomen? Other writers speak of Labeo without an additional name.

We must try to decide on this question by considering some of the references to Labeo, and the nature of the works which he is reported to have written. There seems to be some confusion between an Antistius Labeo and a Cornelius Labeo, and to one or other of these Augustine refers. The Bened. note (adh. 1) reads *Labeones exstiterere tres, iuris civilis scientia clari; sed unus omnium doctissimus Antistius Labeo qui cum Caesare Augusto vixit, non iuris modo sed totius antiquitatis peritissimus de quo hic Augustinus*. Augustine mentions Labeo also DCD II. 14 *Hunc Platonem Labeo inter semideos commemorandum putavit, sicut Herculem, sicut Romulum. Semideos autem heroibus anteponebat; sed utrosque inter numina conlocat*; DCD III. 25 *secundum Labeonis distinctionem* referring back to p. 66. 1: DCD VIII. 13 repeating II. 14; DCD IX. 19, *quoniam nonnulli istorum, ut ita dixerim, daemonicolarum, in quibus et Labeo est, eosdem perhibent ab aliis angelos dici*. . . . DCD XXII. 28, *Labeo etiam duos dicit uno die fuisse defunctos et occurrisset invicem in quodam compito, deinde ad corpora sua iussos fuisse remeare et constituisset inter se amicos esse victuros, atque ita esse factum, donec postea morerentur*. These citations give us some idea of the character of at least part of the writings of Labeo. The only Labeo who suits these statements is M. Antistius Labeo mentioned often by Aulus Gellius, from whom we learn that he was the famous jurisconsult of the time of Augustus. See Noct. Att. 1. 12, 1 *qui de virgine capienda scripserunt quorum diligentissime scripsit Labeo Antistius*; 13. 10. 1 *Labeo Antistius iuris quidem civilis disciplinam principali*

studio exercuit, 13. 12. 1; a grammarian, 4. 2. 3 sq., 13. 10. 2, 15. 27. 1; he wrote commentaries on the twelve tables 1. 12. 18; 6. 15. 1; 20. 1. 13; he wrote on the praetoris edictum 13. 10. 3; he was versed in antiquity litterasque antiquiores altioresque penetraverat. Compare Suet. Aug. 54.

For the passage quoted above compare Apul. De deo Socratis 14 (Hildebrand's edition, vol. 2, p. 142): Et sunt nonnulli ex hoc divorum numero qui nocturnis vel diurnis promptis vel occultis laetioribus vel tristioribus hostiis vel caerimoniis vel ritibus gaudeant.

68. 4. sicut apud Ciceronem idem Scipio loquitur....

The quotation which follows is preserved here alone. Mueller gives it De Re pub. 4. 10, as Dombart gives.

68 17. Illas theatricas artes diu virtus Romana non noverat.

See Livy 7. 2 where is found the account of their first introduction.

69. 10. An forte Graeco Platoni potius palma danda est, qui cum ratione formaret, qualis esse civitas debeat, tamquam adversarios veritatis poetas censuit urbe pellendos?

In book 2 of the Republic of Plato the ποιηταί are included under the general term μιμηταί as requisite for the formation of a μείζονα πόλιν. In book 3, 398, the poets are politely conducted out of the state: ἀποπέμποιμέν τε εἰς ἄλλην πόλιν μύρον κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς καταχέαντες καὶ ἐρίῳ στρέψαντες. But in 10, 606 sq., they are expelled without any apology. The expulsion of Homer, the ποιητικώτατον and πρῶτον τῶν τραγωδιοποιῶν vexes Plato's heart, but he too must go.

Augustine's source is Cicero's De Re publica. Nonius, p. 308. says: M. Tullius de re publ. lib 4:

"Ego vero eodem, quo ille Homerum redimitum coronis et delibutum unguentis emittit ex ea urbe quam sibi ipse fingit." Compare Cic. Tusc. 2. 11. 27: Recte igitur a Platone eiciuntur ex ea civitate quam finxit ille, cum optimos mores et optimum rei publicae statum exquireret, also Tert. Ad Natt. 2. 7: criminatores deorum poetas eliminari Plato censuit, ipsum Homerum sanè coronatum civitate pellendum. Augustine did not read Plato for himself: Cicero is his source here. In support of this observe that Augustine has in the preceding chapter (13) quoted from the fourth book of the Republic of Cicero, and the passage cited from Nonius shows that such an account was found by him also in the same book of Cicero's Republic.

69. 13. Iste vero et deorum iniurias indigne tulit et fucari corrumpique figmentis animos civium noluit.

Compare Plato, Repub. 365 D sq., 377 D sq., 491 E. et al. This also came from Cicero.

70. 35. frustra hoc exclamante Cicerone
.....

This is preserved only here — given by Mueller and Baiter De Repub. 4. 9 9., as Dombart also gives.

71. 17. ut tres solos flamines haberent tribus numinibus institutos, Dialem Iovi, Martialem Marti, Quirinalem Romulo.

See Livy 1. 20. 2. flaminem adsiduum sacerdotem creavit insignique eum veste et curuli regia sella adornavit. Huic duos flamines adiecit, Marti unum, alterum Quirino.

Also Varro L. L. 7 45. Eundem Pompilium ait fecisse flamines, qui cum omnes sunt a singulis deis cognominati, in quibusdam apparent *ἔρυνα*, ut cur sit Martialis et Quirinalis. It is likely that Varro gave all the details from which Augustine derived his knowledge.

71. 31. non aliquot annos post Romam conditam ab Atheniensibus mutuarentur leges Solonis.

Compare Livy 3. 31. 8 missi legati Athenas . . . iussique inclitas leges Solonis describere.

72. 3. quamvis Lycurgus Lacedaemoniis leges ex Apollinis auctoritate se instituisse confinixerit.

See Cic. De Div. 1. 43. 96. Lycurgus quidem qui Lacedaemoniorum rem publicam temperavit, leges suas auctoritate Apollinis Delphici confirmavit. id. N. D. 3. 38. 91. nec Lacedaemoniorum disciplinam dicam umquam ab Apolline potius Spartaee quam a Lycurgo datam.

The first mention of this story is in Herodotus 1. 65.

72. 6. Numa Pompilius . . . quasdam leges, quae quidem regendae civitati nequaquam sufficerent, condidisse fertur qui eis multa etiam sacra constituit.

It is impossible to assign the exact source. The story is a commonplace, recorded in many writers.

Compare Livy 1. 19. sq.; Florus Epit. 1. 1. 2, ille sacra et caerimonias omnemque cultum deorum immortalium docuit, ille pontifices augures Saliōs ceteraque populi R. sacerdotia creavit. Eutrop. Brev. 1. 3., Cic. De Re pub. 2. 14. 26., Id. N. D. 3. 2. 5.

72. 9. non tamen perhibetur easdem leges a numinibus accepisse.

Yet Florus (Epit. 1. 1. 2.) says: haec omnia quasi monitu deae Egeriae, quo magis barbari acciperent, which Florus has taken from Livy 1. 19. 5: simulat sibi cum dea Egeria congressus nocturnos esse, eius se monitu. . . . sacra instituere, sacerdotes suos cuique deorum praeficere.

72. 22. raptas Sabinas.

See Livy 1. 9., Eutrop. Brev. 1. 2., Val. Max., 2. 4. 4., Cic. De Re pub. 2. 7. 12. Livy is the source.

72. 23. fraude spectaculi.

We learn from Livy, Valerius Maximus and Cicero that the name of this spectaculum was the Consualia.

73. 12. post expulsum cum liberis suis regem Tarquinium, cuius filius Lucretiam stupro violenter oppresserat.

See note on p. 31. 12.

73. 14. Iunius Brutus consul Lucium Tarquinium Collatinum, maritum eiusdem Lucretiae, collegam suum, bonum atque innocentem virum, propter nomen et propinquitatem Tarquiniorum coegit magistratu se abdicare nec vivere in civitate permisit.

See Livy 2. 2., where Brutus addresses Collatinus: hunc tu, inquit, tua voluntate, L. Tarquini, remove metum, meminimus, fatemur, eiecisti reges; absolve beneficium tuum, aufer hinc regium nomen. Then abdicavit se consulatu. rebusque suis omnibus Lavinium translatis civitate cessit. Doubtless Augustine has here followed Livy. Compare also Eutrop. Brev. 1. 9., Cic. De Off. 3. 10. 40.

73. 21. Marcus Camillus.... qui Veientes gravissimos hostes populi Romani post decennale bellum.... superavit.... invidia obtrectatorum virtutis suae et insolentia tribunorum plebis reus factus est tamque ingrátam sensit quam liberaverat civitatem, ut de sua damnatione certissimus in exilium sponte discederet et decem milibus aeris absens etiam damnaretur, mox iterum a Gallis vindex patriae futurus ingratae.

See Livy 5. 19 sq. For Camillus' total defeat of the Gauls see chap. 49 ne nuntius quidem cladis relictus. The only authority Augustine had for writing *absens* etiam damnaretur seems to be Livy, who is Augustine's source for the account of Camillus. See also Val. Max. 4. 1. 2., 5. 3. 2a.; Aulus Gellius, N. A. 17. 21. 20, Cic. De Re pub. 1. 3. 6., Id. De domo sua 32. 86, Eutrop. Brev. 1. 20.; Florus Epit. 1. 7. But whence does Augustine get the authority for writing *decem milibus aeris*? Of the authors mentioned in this note, Cicero, Aulus Gellius, Florus and Eutropius do not state the amount of the fine. Livy (5. 32 ad fin.) expressly says *absens quindecim milibus gravis aeris damnatur*. Valerius Maximus (5. 3. 2a) agrees with Livy. So also Plutarch (Vitae, Camillus 13) ὥφλε τὴν δίκην ἐρήμην, τίμημα μυρίων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ἀσσαρίων ἔχουσιν. If the manuscripts are correct we must conclude that Augustine has here made a numerical error.

74. In chap. 18 we have several fragments of Sallust's lost Historiæ. See Maurenbrecher, Historiarum Reliquiæ 11 and 16.

74. 18. Nasica.... Carthaginem nolēbat everti.

See note p. 47, 12.

75. 28. Dicit deinde plura Sallustius de Sullae vitiis ceteraque foeditate rei publicae et alii scriptores in haec consentiunt, quamvis eloquio multum impari.

It is not easy to say who the alii scriptores are. Augustine seems to limit them to those who wrote de Sullae vitiis ceteraque foeditate rei publicae, which would of course eliminate writers like Tacitus, Juvenal and Persius. Again he speaks of them as compared with Sallust as eloquio multum impari, which, however, according to his view, would not eliminate Livy. Compare Livy Epit. 88 sq., Florus Epit. 2. 9 sq., Eutrop. Brev. 5. 4 sq., Vell. Pat., Hist. Rom. 2. 28. 2 sq. Compare Plut. Vitae, Lysander and Sulla 3. 2, ὃ δ' οὔτε νέος ὢν περὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἐμετρίαζε διὰ τὴν πενίαν οὔτε γηράσας διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς περὶ γάμων καὶ σωφροσύνης εἰσηγείτο νόμους τοῖς πολίταις αὐτὸς ἐρῶν καὶ μοιχεύων, ὥς φησὶ Σαλούστιος.

Augustine refers in the words given above to the now lost *Historiæ* of Sallust; he was the last literary person, so far as our evidence goes, to use the complete *Historiæ*, as has been pointed out by Maurenbrecher (*Historiarum Reliquiæ*. Leip. 1891, p. 4): Postremus, quoad nos scimus, totas Sallustii historias legit Augustinus.

79. 5. sed domui Sardanapali comparaverit? qui quondam rex ita fuit voluptatibus deditus, ut in sepulchro suo scribi fecerit ea sola se habere mortuum, quae libido eius etiam cum viveret hauriendo consumpserat.

See Cic. De Finn, 2. 32. 106, corporis autem voluptas si etiam praeterita delectat, non intellego cur Aristoteles Sardapalli epigramma tantopere derideat, in quo ille rex Syriae gloriatur, omnis

se secum libidinum voluptates abstulisse; Id. Tusc. 5. 35. 101, ex quo Sardanapalli, opulentissimi Syriae regis, error agnoscitur, qui incidi iussit in busto:

Haec habeo quae edi, quaeque exsaturata libido

Hausit; at illa iacent multa et praeclara relictæ

‘Quid aliud,’ inquit Aristoteles, ‘in bovis, non in regis sepulchro inscriberes?’ Cicero also mentioned Sardanapallus in the third book of the *De Re pub.*, as we learn from the scholiast on Juvenal, Sat. 10. 362; Sardanapallus rex Assyriorum luxuriosus de quo Tullius in tertio de republica sic ait: ‘Sardanapallus ille vitiis multo quam nomine ipso deformior.’ Compare Justinus’ *Epit.* 1. 3, who says of Sardanapallus *vir muliere corruptior . . . invenit (Arbactus) eum interscortorum greges purpuras colorentem et muliebri habitu, cum mollitia corporis et oculorum lascivia omnes feminas anteiret.* For fuller details in regard to Sardanapallus see J. E. B. Mayor’s note on Juvenal, Sat. 10. 362.

79. 15. For the corruption of Roman society and its contrast with former days compare Sallust, *Cat.* 7 sq.: *Ibi primum insuevit exercitus p. R. amare, potare, signa, tabulas pictas, vasa caelata mirari, ea privatim ac publice rapere, delubra spoliare, sacra profanaque polluere (chap. 11). Postquam divitiae honori esse coepere et eas gloria imperium potentia sequebatur, hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro malivolentia duci coepit (chap. 12). Sed libido stupri, ganeae*

ceterique cultus non minor incesserat: viri muliebria pati, mulieres pudicitiam in propatulo habere.... (chap. 13).

79. 26. a quo (T. Graccho) scribit seditiones graves coepisse Sallustius.

This fragment is No. 17 in Maurenbrecher's edition.

80. 20.-81. 23. This passage is given in full by Mueller in his edition of Cicero as the argumentum of book 3 of the *De Re publica*.

81. 5. brevem rei publicae definitionem qua dixerat eam esse rem populi.

See Cic. *De Re pub.* 1. 25. 39, Est igitur, inquit Africanus, res publica res populi, populus autem non omnis hominum coetus quoquo modo congregatus, sed coetus multitudinis iuris consensu et utilitatis communione sociatus,—reference given by Dombart.

81. 28. This passage is given in full by Mueller at the beginning of *De Re pub.* 5 (in principio quinti libri). It has not been noticed by Dombart.

82. 21. Haec Cicero fatebatur longe quidem post mortem Africani, quem in suis libris facit de re publica disputare.

Africanus died 129 B. C.; Cicero's *De Re publica* was written 54 B. C.

83. 1. Mueller gives this passage as one of the *Fragmenta incertae sedis* of the third book of Cicero's *Republic*.

84. 3. quas deorum leges illi civitati datas contempserint Gracchi, ut seditionibus cuncta turbarent.

See Livy Epit. 58 sq., Florus Epit. 2. 1 sq., Sall. Jug. 42, Vell. Pat. Hist. Rom. 2. 2 sq., who says of the murder of Tiberius Gracchus *hoc initium in urbe Roma civilis sanguinis gladiatorumque impunitatis fuit*. Compare Val. Max. 3. 2. 17, 7. 2. 6.

84. 5. *quas Marius et Cinna et Carbo, ut in bella etiam progredierentur civilia causis iniquissimis suscepta et crudeliter gesta crudeliusque finita.*

See Livy Epit. 77 sq., Florus Epit. 2. 9 sq., who says: *initium et causa belli inexplabilis honorum Marii fames, dum decretam Syllae provinciam Sulpicia lege sollicitat*, and Vell. Pat., Hist. Rom. 2. 19 sq., Eutrop. Brev. 5. 8 sq.

84. 7. *quas denique Sulla ipse, cuius vitam mores facta describente Sallustio aliisque scriptoribus historiae....*

From Augustine's own words we learn that he had at least two sources of information about Sulla—describente Sallustio in the passage before us (compare also p. 75. 28), and scribit Livius DCD II. 24 (p. 87. 18). For notices of Sulla in the extant work of Sallust, see Cat. 11, 37, 51, and Jug. 95, 96. See also Florus Epit. 2.9 sq., Vell. Pat. Hist. Rom. 2. 19 sq., Livy Epit. 66–89.

The work of Sallust referred to above by Augustine is evidently the now lost *Historiae*. It is supposed that Sallust started this work with the year of Sulla's death (B.C. 78), as Maurenbrecher gives: *Res populi Romani M. Lepido, Q. Catulo consulibus ac deinde militiae et domi gestas composui* (Frag. 1). It is also inferred from Sallust's own words in Jug. 95, *idoneum visum est de natura cultuque eius paucis dicere; neque enim alio loco de Sullae rebus dicturi sumus, et L.*

Sisenna parum mihi libero ore locutus videtur that he said little about Sulla in the *Historiae*.

With this date the statement of Augustine *vitam mores facta describente Sallustio* would seem to be rather inconsistent. In DCD II. 18 (p. 75. 28) Augustine writes *Dicit deinde plura Sallustius de Sullae vitiis*, evidently also referring to the *Historiae*. But in each of these cases it should be noted that Augustine shows that he had other authorities—*aliisque* (p. 84. 8), and *alii scriptores in haec consentiunt* (p. 75. 30). No doubt Sallust treated briefly of Sulla at least by way of introduction. Compare also Plut. *Vitae*, Lysander and Sulla 3. 2, ὡς φησὶ Σαλούστιος—in regard to the vices of Sulla.

84. 21. Cum longe antequam mores corrumpere antiqui a Gallis Roma capta et incensa? solus collis Capitolinus remanserat, qui etiam ipse caperetur, nisi saltem anseres diis dormientibus vigilarent.

The source is Livy 5. 41 sq. See also Florus *Epit.* 1. 7, *Eutrop. Brev.* 1. 20.

85. 14. qui enim Marium novum hominem et ignobilem, cruentissimum auctorem bellorum [civilium] atque gestorem, ut septiens consul fieret adiuverunt atque in septimo suo consulatu moreretur senex nec in manus Sullae futuri mox victoris intrueret.

See note p. 84. 5. Florus (*Epit.* 2. 9. 17.) says: *haec tot senatus funera intra kalendas et idus Ianuarii mensis septima illa Marii purpura dedit. Quid futurum fuit si annum consulatus impleset?* Compare Vell. Pat. *Hist. Rom.* 2. 23 (ad init.): *et septimum Marius in priorum dedecus iniit, cuius initio*

morbo oppressus decessit, vir in bello hostibus, in otio civibus infestissimus quietisque impatientissimus. Sallust's estimate of Marius is found in Jug. 63 sq.

For the contrast between Marius and Regulus here given by Augustine it is interesting to compare Cic. Paradoxa 2. 16: Nec vero ego M. Regulum aerumnosum nec infelicem nec miserum umquam putavi C. vero Marium vidimus, qui mihi secundis rebus unus ex fortunatis hominibus, adversis unus ex summis viris videbatur, quo beatus esse mortali nihil potest. Nescis, insane, nescis quantas vires virtus habeat. Id. N. D. 3. 32. 81, Cur enim Marius tam feliciter septimum consul domi suae senex est mortuus? Augustine probably had in mind Livy for the narrative, while the contrast between Marius and Regulus was perhaps suggested by Cicero.

85. 23. perfrui diis iratis.

Compare Juvenal, Sat. 1. 49,

Exul ab octava Marius bibit et
fruitur dis|Iratis.

Here the words fruitur dis iratis occur in connection with the name Marius. It is hard to say when Augustine penned the words perfrui diis iratis, whether he did so independently, or while writing of one Marius he recalled the words of Juvenal about another Marius, or perhaps by a lapsus memoriae Augustine confused the Marius novum hominem et ignobilem with the proconsul Marius Priscus referred to by Juvenal. That Augustine knew Juvenal we learn from one of his letters to Marcellinus (Ep. 138, 3. 16 in vol. 2 of BE), where he quotes a passage from the sixth satire of Juvenal.

For the form of expression compare Juvenal, Sat. 10, 129:

Dis ille adversis genitus fatoque
sinistro.

Plaut. Mil. Glor. 314, quis magis dis inimicis natust quam tu atque iratis? Mayor in his note on Juvenal, Sat. 10. 129, gives also Livy 9. 1. 11, Persius 4. 27, Sen. De Benef. 4. 4. 3, Id. Lud. de morte Claud. 11. 3, and one or two others.

85. 24. Regulus, captivitate servitute inopia vigiliis doloribus excruciarī et emoridiis amicis.

See note p. 25. 21.

86. 11. Metellus enim Romanorum laudatissimus qui quinque filios consulares habuit.

See Cic. De Finn. 5. 27. 82, Q. Metellus qui tris filios consules vidit, e quibus unum etiam censorem et triumphantem, quartum autem praetorem eosque salvos reliquit. . . . Id. Tusc. 1. 35. 85, Metellus ille honoratis quattuor filiis. Val. Max. 7. 1. 1, fecit ut eodem tempore tres filios consulares, unum etiam censorium et triumphalem, quartum praetorium videret. Vell. Pat. 1. 11, quattuor filios sustulit, omnis adultae aetatis vidit, omnis reliquit superstites et honoratissimos. Mortui eius lectum pro rostris sustulerunt quattuor filii, unus consularis et censorius, alter consularis, tertius consul, quartus candidatus consulatus quem honorem adeptus est. So also Plutarch, De fortuna Romana 4, καὶ Καικίλιος Μέτελλος ὁ Μακεδονικὸς γέρων ὑπὸ τεσσάρων παίδων ὑπατικῶν ἐκκομίζόμενος. Thus we see Augustine's error in writing quinque filios against the authority of Cicero, Velleius Paterculus, Valerius Maximus and Plutarch. Probably Livy gave the same as these authors in one of the books (16-19) dealing with the period of the first Punic war when the Metelli first came into prominence. In

Epit. 19 a victory of this same Metellus is mentioned. On the other hand against the above sources and against Augustine Pliny (H. N. 7. 13. 59) says *cum sex liberos relinqueret* and (7. 43. 140) *multos liberos relinquere*.

86. 13. *Catilina pessimus oppressus inopia et in bello sui sceleris prostratus infelix.*

See Sallust Cat., Cic. In Cat., Livy Epit. 102, 103, Florus Epit. 2. 12, Eutrop. Brev. 6. 15, Vell. Pat. Hist. Rom. 2. 34.

86. 23. *Marius a miserantibus Minturnensibus Maricae deae in luco eius commendatus est ut ei omnia prosperaret, et ex summa desperatione reversus incolumis in urbem duxit crudelem³ crudelis exercitum.*

The account as given here is not to be found in Florus, Eutropius, Valerius Maximus or Velleius Paterculus. In Valerius Maximus we find the nearest approach (2. 10. 6) *Minturnenses autem maiestate illius capti comprehensum iam et constrictum dira fati necessitate incolumem praestiterunt*, but he does not mention the goddess in whose grove Marius was concealed. Velleius Paterculus mentions the goddess, but his account is not that to which Augustine refers: *extractus harudine to circa paludem Maricae in quam se fugiens consectantis Sullae equites abdiderat, iniecto in collum loro in carcerem Minturnensium iussu dumviri perductus est* (Rom. Hist. 2. 19. 2). We may conclude that Augustine got his information here from one of the lost books of Livy, probably the eightieth, in the epitome of which we have mention of Marius' return to the city and his cruelty, We may note that Plutarch gives the same facts to which Augustine refers (Vitae. Marius, 39).

86. 27. ubi quam cruenta, quam incivilis hostilique immanior eius victoria fuerit, eos qui scripserunt legant qui volunt.

See notes on pp. 84. 5, 85. 14, 86. 23.

87. 17. cum primum ad Urbem contra Marium castra movisset (Sulla), adeo laeta exta immolanti fuisse scribit Livius ut custodiri se Postumius haruspex voluerit capitis supplicium subiturus, nisi ea quae in animo Sulla haberet, diis iuvantibus implevisset.

This was evidently in the seventy-seventh book of Livy, which has been lost. In Epit. 77 we read of the first entrance of Sulla into the city against Marius, L. Sylla consul cum exercitu in urbem venit et adversus factionem Sulpicii et Marii in ipsa urbe expugnavit eamque expulit.

Compare Plut. Vitae, Sulla. 9: ὁ δὲ μάντις Ποστούμιος θύσαντος αὐτοῦ καταμαθὼν τὰ σημεῖα καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀμφοτέρως τῷ Σύλλᾳ προτείνας, ἡξίου δεθῆναι καὶ φυλάττεσθαι μέχρι τῆς μάχης, ὥς εἰ μὴ πάντα ταχὺ καὶ καλῶς αὐτῷ συντελεσθεῖν τὴν ἐσχάτην δίκην ὑποσχεῖν βουλόμενος.

This same Postumius haruspex is mentioned in connection with Sulla in a sacrificial act in Cic. De Div. 1. 33. 72; see also Val. Max. 1. 6. 4. We may also note here that Augustine has followed the authority of Livy as against that of Cicero and Valerius Maximus. Cicero (De Div. 1. 33. 72) makes the incident take place ante oppidum Nola[m] florentissima Samnitiu[m] castra cepit, so also Val. Max. 1. 6. 4, qua visa Postumi haruspici[s] hortatu continuo exercitum in expeditionem eduxit ac fortissima(?) Samnitiu[m] castra cepit. In these words Valerius Maximus has very closely followed Cicero. Plutarch, Vitae, Sulla 9 (ad init.), gives the same account as Augustine. If it is the same incident, as it seems to be,

that is referred to in all these cases, probably the version given here by Augustine, after Livy, is the correct one, as it was probably found also in the *ὑπομνήματα* of Sulla, which Plutarch also knew.

87. 25. Deinde cum esset in Asia bellum Mithridaticum gerens, per Lucium Titium ei mandatum est a Iove, quod esset Mithridatem superaturus, et factum est.

No doubt Augustine is here following Livy also, but that part of Livy's history has been lost. According to Plutarch (*Vitae, Sulla* 17.) this man's name was not *Lucius Titius* but *Quintius Titius*. ὥς δὲ Σύλλας αὐτὸς ἐν δεκάτῳ τῶν ὀπονημάτων γέγραφε Κοίντιος Τίτιος, οὐκ ἀφανὴς ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι πραγματευομένων, ἦκε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤδη τὴν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ νενικηκότα μάχην ἀπαγγέλλων ὅτι καὶ δευτέραν ὁ Τροφώνιος αὐτόθι μάχην καὶ νίκην προσημαίνει ἐντὸς ὀλίγου χρόνου.

87. 28. Ac postea molienti redire in Urbem et suas amicorumque iniurias civili sanguine ulcisci, iterum mandatum est ab eodem Iove per militem quendam legionis sextae, prius se de Mithridate praenuntiasse victoriam, et tunc promittere daturum se potestatem, qua recuperaret ab inimicis rem publicam non sine multo sanguine. Tum percontatus Sulla, quae forma militi visa fuerit. . . .

Doubtless this was found in one of the now lost books of Livy and in Sulla's memoirs. We find it preserved in Plutarch *Vitae, Sulla*, 17. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐν τάξει στρατευομένων ὄνομα Σαλονήμιος ἀνήνεγκε παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τέλος οἶον αἰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πράξεις ἐμελλον ἔξειν. ἀμφότεροι δὲ ταῦτα περὶ τῆς ὁμφῆς ἔφραζον. τῷ γὰρ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ καὶ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος παραπλήσιον ἰδεῖν ἔφασαν.

88. 17. Deinde cum venisset Tarentum Sulla atque ibi sacrificasset, vidit in capite vitulini iecoris similitudinem coronae aureae. Tunc Postumius haruspex ille respondit praeclaram ei significari victoriam iussitque ut extis illis solus vesceretur. Postea parvo intervallo servus cuiusdam Lucii Pontii vaticinando clamavit: A Bellona nuntius venio, victoria tua est, Sulla. Deinde adiecit arsurum esse Capitolium.

Again we have only Plutarch; see *Vitae, Sulla* 27. *θύσαντος μὲν γὰρ εὐθέως ἡ διέβη περὶ Τάραντα, δάφνης στεφάνου τύπον ἔχων ὁ λοβὸς ὤφθη ἐν δὲ Σιλονίῳ φησὶν οἰκέτην Ποντίου θεοφόρητον ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ λέγοντα παρὰ τῆς Ἐννοῦς κράτος πολέμου καὶ νίκην ἀπαγγέλλειν. εἰ δὲ μὴ σπεύσειεν ἐμπεπρῆσθαι τὸ Καπιτώλιον.* Augustine no doubt got his information here from the now lost eighty-fifth book of Livy, in the epitome of which we find mention of Sulla's return to Italy.

89. 26. in quadam Campaniae lata planitie, ubi non multo post civiles acies nefario proelio conflixerunt, ipsi inter se prius pugnare visi sunt. Namque ibi auditi sunt primum ingentes fragores, moxque multi se vidisse nuntiarunt per aliquot dies duas acies proeliari. Quae pugna ubi destitit, vestigia quoque velut hominum et equorum, quanta de illa conflictatione exprimi poterant, invenerunt.

This incident, "The Battle of the Demons," is not mentioned anywhere in the extant works of Livy. Compare *Jul. Obseq.* 57 (118) *L. Scipione C. Norbano coss., per Syllana tempora inter Capuam et Volturnum ingens signorum sonus armorumque cum horrendo clamore auditus,*

ita ut viderentur duae acies concurrere per plures dies. Rei miraculo interius considerantibus vestigia equorum hominumque et recenter protritae herbae et virgulta visa. But there can be no doubt that Augustine got it from one of the books of Livy no longer extant.

90. 5. miles quidam, dum occiso spolia detraheret, fratrem nudato cadavere agnovit ac detestatus bella civilia se ipsum ibi perimens fraterno corpori adiunxit.

See Livy Epit. 79, in quo bello duo fratres, alter ex Pompeii exercitu, alter ex Cinnae, ignorantes concurrerunt, et cum victor spoliaret occisum, agnito fratre, ingenti lamentatione edita, rogo ei exstructo, ipse se supra rogam transfodit.

92. 19. Caelestis.

See note p. 57. 11.

93. 19. Vir gravis et philosophaster Tullius.

A fine touch of amused scorn. Philosophaster is used only this once in the DCD, and indeed it is ἀπαξ λεγόμενον not only in the writings of Augustine but in Latin literature. This is the only instance in Forcellini (where the reference Cic. 7. Verr. 14 should be Cic. 5. Verr. 14) and does not occur in Du Cange. Even in the above passage from Augustine some MSS. read philosophus tertullius, which, of course, is incorrect.

95. 26. sanguine nobis hanc patriam peperere suo.

Both Dombart and Hoffmann have printed these words as ordinary prose—not noticing that they are a quotation from Virgil Aeneid 11. 24.

96. 5. lapis Capitolinus.

It is not perfectly clear whether reference is made to some stone statue of Jupiter or to some sacred stone on the Capitoline hill. Saisset (footnote on this passage) says: "St. Augustin veut parler de la fameuse statue de pierre élevée à Jupiter au Capitole. Aul. Gell. 1. 21." The words found in Aulus Gellius are: *Iovem lapidem, inquit, quod sanctissimum iusiurandum habitum est . . .* The classical passage is found in Polybius, 3. 25, *ἔστι δὲ τὸ Δία λίθον τοιοῦτον. λαβὼν εἰς τὴν χεῖρα λίθον ὁ ποιούμενος τὰ ὅρκια περὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν, ἐπειδὰν ὁμόσῃ δημοσίᾳ πίσκει λέγει τάδε, 'εὐορκοῦντι μὲν ποιεῖν τᾶγαθα· εἰ δὲ ἄλλως διανοηθεῖν τι ἢ πράξαιμι πάντων τῶν ἄλλων σφζομένων ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις πατρίσιν, ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις νόμοις ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων βίων ἱερῶν τάφων, ἐγὼ μόνος ἐκπέσοιμι οὕτως ὥς ὅδε λίθος νῦν.'* καὶ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ῥίπτει τὸν λίθον ἐκ τῆς χειρός. See Tyrrell's note on '*Iovem lapidem iurare*' on Cic. Fam. 7. 12, where he quotes this passage from Polybius, and Strachan-Davidson's note on the same passage in his *Prolegomena* VIII. (p. 73-80) to *Selections from Polybius*, Oxford 1888.

BOOK III.

100. 24. Romulum Martis.

See Livy 1. 4, Florus Epit. 1. 1, Romulus Marte genitus et Rheia Silvia, Eutrop. Brev. 1. 1, Martis cum Remo fratre uno partu editus est, Cic. De Repub. 2. 2. 4.

101. 5. vir doctissimus eorum Varro falsa haec esse paene fatetur. Sed utile esse civitatibus dicit ut se viri fortes, etiamsi falsum sit, diis genitos esse credant, ut eo modo animus humanus velut divinae stirpis fiduciam gerens res magnas adgrediendas praesumat audacius, agat vehementius et ob hoc impleat ipsa securitate felicius. Quae Varronis sententia expressa, ut potui, meis verbis

For this, as for all subsequent quotations from or phrases of Varro, see Francken, *Fragmenta Varronis* (Lugduni-Batav. 1836), Schwarz, *De Varronis apud sanctos patres vestigiis*, (Leipzig 1888), and Agahd, *M. Terenti Varronis Antiquitatum Rerum Divinarum libri I., XIV., XV., XVI.*, (Leipzig 1898.)

102. 9. Romani antiqui in stupro detectas Vestae sacerdotes vivas etiam defodiebant.

See Livy. 2. 42. 11, 8. 15. 7., Epit. 2, 63. Compare Jerome's Chronicle of Eusebius 2, (vol. 8, col. 384 in BE) *virgo vestalis Sunia deprehensa in stupro viva defossa est.* Servius on Verg. Aen. 11. 206. The best account of the death of a supposed guilty Vestal is found in the younger Pliny Ep. 4. 11. 6.

102. 11. adulteras autem feminas, quamvis aliqua damnatione, nulla tamen morte plectebant.

This sweeping statement of Augustine is not correct. From Aulus Gillius N. A. 10. 23 we learn that the husband had power to put to death his wife if caught in adultery. Gellius quotes from a speech of Cato entitled *de dote*: *in quaid quoque scriptum est in adulterio uxores deprehensas ius fuisse maritis necare.... De iure autem occidendi ita scriptum: In adulterio uxorem tuam si prehendiisses sine iudicio in-pune necares.* This continued until the introduction of the *lex Julia de adulteriis et pudicitia*, passed by Augustus B.C. 18, by which the death of an unfaithful wife at the pleasure of the husband (*sine iudicio*) was forbidden, and a family court required for such condemnation. Probably Augustine had reference to Livy 10. 31. 9 Q. Fabius Gurges consulis filius aliquot matronas ad populum stupri damnatas pecunia multavit, a reference given in the BE note.

103. 17 quid miserum commiserat Ilium, ut a Fimbria, Marianarum partium homine pessimo, everteretur.... porro autem Fimbria prius edictum proposuit ne cui parceretur, atque urbem totam cunctosque in ea homines incendio concremavit.

The account of this was to be found in Augustine's day in the now lost eighty-third book of Livy; compare Epit. 83, *urbem Ilium, quae se potestati Syllae reservabat, expugnavit ac delevit.* Compare Augustine DCD. III. 7 (p. 104, 2), *Illi enim contra Fimbriam portas clausuerant ut Sullae servarent integram civitatem.* Though the epitome does not mention the edict of Fimbria,

we cannot doubt but that it was found in Livy's own work. This is not recorded by Florus or Eutropius.

104. 27. Eversis quippe et incensis omnibus cum oppido simulacris solum Minervae sub tanta ruina templi illius, ut scribit Livius, integrum stetisse perhibetur.

The reference here must be to the lost eighty-third book of Livy, the epitome of which mentions the sack of Ilium by Fimbria. Livy's description has been saved in Julius Obsequens, 56. (116), Ilio a C. Fimbria incenso cum aedes quoque Minervae deflagrasset, inter ruinas simulacrum antiquissimum inviolatum stetit spemque restitutionis oppido portendit.

105. 9. Expugnante Fimbria cecidit Ilium. Unde ergo stetit Minervae simulacrum?

See the two preceding notes.

105. 11. a Gallis ipsa Roma capta et incensa est. . . . ad vocem anseris cito redierunt ut saltem Capitolinum collem, qui remanserat, tuerentur.

See note, p. 84, 21.

105. 20. Hi etiam Numam Pompilium successorem Romuli adiuvisse creduntur ut toto regni sui tempore pacem haberet et Iani portas, quae bellis patere adsolent, clauderet, eo merito scilicet, quia Romanis multa sacra constituit.

See Livy 1. 19 (ad init.) Qui regno ita potitus urbem novam, conditam vi et armis, iure eam legibusque ac moribus de integro condere parat. Quibus cum

inter bella adsuescere videret non posse, quippe efferari militia animos, mitigandum ferocem populum armorum desuetudine ratus, Ianum ad infimum Argiletum indicem pacis bellicque fecit, apertus ut in armis esse civitatem, clausus pacatos circa omnes populos significaret. Eutrop. Brev. 1. 3, Numa, Pompeilius rex creatus est qui bellum quidem nullum gessit. Florus, Epit. 1. 2. See note p. 72. 6.

106. 11. Quid ergo est quod illi quadraginta tres, vel, ut alii volunt triginta novem anni, in tam longa pace transacti sunt regnante Numa.

Livy gives 43 years and Cicero 39. Livy 1. 21. 6, Numa tres et quadraginta, Plutarch, Vitae, Numa 20, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γε τῆς Νομᾶ βασιλείας οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν ἀνεφωγμένος ὦφθη, τρία δὲ καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη συνεχῶς ἔμεινε κεκλεισμένος. Eutrop. Brev. 1. 3 also gives 43 years, though the Bened. note (ad h. l.) says he assigns only 41 to Numa's reign. Jerome's Chron of Eusebius (sub Numa) assigns 41 years. But Cicero (De Re pub. 2. 14. 27) writes Sic ille cum undequadraginta annos summa in pace concordiaque regnavisset (sequamur enim potissimum Polybium nostrum quo nemo fuit in exquirendis temporibus diligentior) excessit e vita. In spite of the statement above quoted from Plutarch we might get 40 or 41 years by comparing the closing words of chap. 21 ἐτελεύτησε δὲ χρόνον οὐ πολὺν τοῖς ὀγδοήκοντα προσβιώσας with the opening words of chap. 5 ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔτος ἤδη διατελοῦντι τῷ Νομᾶ τεσσαράκοστον ἦκον ἀπὸ Ῥώμης οἱ πρέσβεις παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν.

106. 15. vix post tam multos annos ab urbe condita usque ad Augustum pro

magno miraculo unus commemoratur annus post primum bellum Punicum, quo belli portas Romani claudere potuerunt?

See Livy 1. 19. bis deinde post Numae regnum clausus fuit, semel T. Manlio consule post Punicum primum perfectum bellum, . . . also Plutarch, Vitae, Numa 20, νομίζεται ἀνεῶχθαι μὲν αὐτὸν ὅταν ἡ πόλεμος, κεκλείσθαι δὲ εἰρήνης γενομένης. ὃ δὲ χαλεπὸν ἦν καὶ σπανίως γινόμενον . . . πλὴν ἐπὶ γε τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκλείσθη καθελόντος Ἀντώνιον, καὶ πρότερον ὑπατευνόντων Μάρκου Ἀτιλίου καὶ Τίτου Μαλλίου χρόνον οὐ πολύν.

108. 18. Neque enim aliunde Apollo ille Cumanus, cum adversus Achaeos regemque Aristonicum bellaretur, quadriduo flevisse nuntiatus est. . . .

Compare Julius Obsequens 28 (Jahn's edition), Publius Crassus adversus Aristonicum dimicans occisus. Apollinis simulacrum Cumis lacrimavit per quatrimum. Vates responderunt Graeciae fore exitium, unde deductum esset. Sacrificatum a Romanis donaque in templo posita. Jahn quotes from Augustine in the footnote on this passage. Cicero probably refers to the same (De Div. 1. 43. 98), cum Cumis Apollo sudavit.

The war to which Augustine refers seems to be that mentioned in Livy Epit. 59, Florus Epit. 1. 35, Eutrop. Brev. 4. 20, and Augustine's authority here must be the lost fifty-ninth book of Livy, as he gives a fuller account than that found in Julius Obsequens. Why does Augustine add adversus Achaeos? In Livy 43. 13. 4, a similar incident is recorded, but it is not the one referred to by Augustine.

109. 22. rex quippe Tarquinius ibi Capitolium fabricavit.

See Livy 1. 55. Eutrop. Brev. 1. 6, Capitulum inchoavit. Compare Cic. De Re pub. 2. 20. 36, where the aedemque in Capitolio Iovi optimo maximo was vowed by L. Tarquinius, and 2. 24. 44, where Tarquinius Superbus votum patris Capitolii aedificatione persolvit. It is not clear whether Augustine here follows Livy or Varro, for in DCD IV. 23, where the same building is referred to, Varro is the authority (see note p. 174. 30).

109. 23. Aesculapius autem ab Epidauro ambivit ad Romam.

See Livy 10. 47. 7, inventum in libris, Aesculapium ab Epidauro Romam arcesendum, and Epit. 11, cum pestilentia civitas laboraret, missi legati ut Aesculapi signum Romam ab Epidauro transferrent. Livy is the source.

109. 25. mater etiam deum nescio unde a Pessinunte.

See Livy 29. 10 sq. See note p. 57. 11 and p. 46. 29.

110. 1. Cynocephalum, qui longe postea venit ex Aegypto.

Augustine here probably got his knowledge of Cynocephalus from Varro. In DCD XVI. 8 he says of Cynocephali quid dicam de Cynocephalis, quorum canina capita atque ipse latratus magis bestias quam homines confitetur? In Tert. Ap. 6, Cynocephalus is mentioned along with other Egyptian deities as prohibited from the Capitol. Compare Minucius Felix, Octav. 22, Isis perditum filium cum Cynocephalo suo et calvis sacerdotibus luget, plangit, inquit. . . . mox invento parvulo gaudet Isis, exultant sacerdotes, Cynocephalus inventor gloriatur. From the passage quoted above from Augustine (DCD XVI. 8), Cynocephali seem to be a

monstrous race of men, and Cynocephalus is also an Egyptian deity, probably, from the derivation of the word (κύων and κεφαλή), to be identified with Anubis.

110. 8. ut Varro dicit, certos atque incertos.

This was in the 39th and 40th books of Antiquities (Quadraginta unum libros scripsit antiquitatum, DCD VI. 3), or in the 14th and 15th books of the second division of his work "de rebus divinis:" Hanc velut pompam obsequiorum in tribus, qui restant, dii ipsi sequuntur extremi, quibus iste universus cultus impensus est: in primo dii certi, in secundo incerti (DCD VI. 3 contains the complete analysis of Varro's Antiquitates).

111. 3. ut ea dolo raperent moxque compellerentur pugnare cum soceris, ut miserae feminae nondum ex iniuria maritis conciliatae iam parentum sanguine dotarentur?

111. 25. Romani autem soceros interficiebant in proeliis quorum iam filias amplexabantur in thalamis.

See note p. 72. 22.

112 12. Romulus de suorum iam virtute desperans Iovem oravit ut starent, atque ille hac occasione nomen Statoris invenit. . . .

See Livy 1. 12 sq. Florus Epit. 1. 1. 1, atrox in ipso foro pugna, adeo ut Romulus Iovem oraret, foedam suorum fugam sisteret; hinc templum et Stator Iupiter. Compare Plut. Vitae, Romulus 18. Livy is Augustine's source.

112. 17. Deinde Titum Tatium regem Sabinorum socium regni Romulus ferre

compulsus est. . . . Unde et ipso interfecto, ut maior deus esset, regnum solus obtinuit.

See Livy I. 11 sq. Florus Epit. I. I. 1, sic pax facta cum Tatio foedusque percussum, sequutaque res mira dictu, ut relictis sedibus suis novam in urbem hostes demigrarent.

Here Augustine lays the blame of the death of Titus Tatius on Romulus. On what authority has he done so? Eutropius, Florus, Velleius Paterculus, Valerius Maximus and Cicero do not, in their extant writings, mention the death of Titus Tatius. Augustine did not find this account in Livy, who thus records the death of Tatius: Nam Lavini, cum ad sollemne sacrificium eo venisset, concursu facto interficitur. We can only suppose that Augustine here, in the passion of argument, has become too rhetorical and made a misstatement, in which he is followed by his contemporary, Orosius (Adv. pag. 2. 4. 6), Titum Tatium. . . . mox ut in societatem regni adsumpsit occidit.

113. 1. Quam crebrae strages Romani Albanique exercitus fuerunt et utriusque comminutio civitatis! Alba namque illa. . . . a Tullo Hostilio rege provocata confligit, Tunc eventum belli de tergeminis hinc atque inde fratribus placuit experiri: a Romanis tres Horatii, ab Albanis autem tres Curiatii processerunt. . . .

See Livy I, 22 sq., Eutrop. Brev. I. 4. But the reference comes straight from Florus Epit. I. I. 3. exercita iuventute provocare ausus Albanos, gravem et diu principem populum. Sed cum pari robore frequentibus proeliis utrique com-

minuerentur, misso in compendium bello, Horatiis Curiatisque, trigeminis hinc atque inde fratribus, utriusque populi fata permissa sunt Augustine seems here to follow closely the account and words of Florus. Note Augustine says, utriusque comminutio civitatis; Florus utrique comminuerentur, and the words tergeminis hinc atque inde fratribus are taken verbatim from Florus.

Compare Cic. pro Milone, 3. 7. M. Horati, fortissimi viri, qui nondum libera civitate tamen populi Romani comitiis liberatus est, cum sua manu sororem esse interfectam fateretur, Id. De. Inv. 2. 26. 78.

113. 2. Alba namque illa quam filius Aeneae creavit Ascanius.

See Livy 1. 3. 3.

113. 28. Marcellus Syracusanam civitatem recolens eius paulo ante culmen et gloriam sub manus suas subito cecidisse communem cogitans conditionem flendo miseratus est?

See note p. 11. 1.

115. 16. Horationum soror.

See note p. 113. 1.

115. 27. Alba, ubi Amulius expulso fratre.

See Livy 1. 3. 11. pulso fratre Amulius regnat. Florus Epit. 1. 1. 4.

116. 12. De Romulo viderit adulatio fabulosa, qua perhibetur receptus in caelum; viderint quidam scriptores

eorum qui eum propter ferocitatem a senatu discerptum esse dixerunt subornatumque nescio quem Iulium Proculum, qui eum sibi apparuisse diceret eumque per se populo mandasse Romano ut inter numina coleretur.... Acciderat enim et solis defectio.

Compare Livy's account 1. 16., from which it will easily be seen that Augustine has not here followed Livy, as the latter gives neither the subornatum Iulium Proculum nor the solis defectio. Compare Cic. De Repub. 2. 10. 20. Proculo Iulio.... qui impulsu patrum quo illi a se invidiam interitus Romuli pellerent, in con-tione dixisse fertur a se visum esse in eo colle Romulum qui nunc Quirinalis vocatur; eum sibi mandasse ut populum rogaret ut sibi eo in colle delubrum fieret; se deum esse et Quirinum vocari, also De Legg 1. 1. 3. Though Cicero in these passages does not mention the solis defectio, we know from Augustine's own words that he found that in Cicero. Compare p. 117. 21. In Hortensio vero dialogo... ut easdem, inquit, tenebras efficiat quas effecit in interitu Romuli, qui obscuracione solis est factus, and from this dialogue Augustine may have taken the whole account. Augustine's authority is doubtless Cicero, whom he mentions and quotes from in this chapter. Also p. 117. 8. he says alii scriptores eorum defectioni solis addunt etiam subitam tempestatem. Here, after he had consulted Cicero, he evidently noted the accounts given of the same event by other writers. Livy (1. 16) and Eutropius (Brev. 1. 2. 2.) tell of the tempest; Florus (Epit. 1. 1. 1) mentions both the tempest and the eclipse of the sun.

Both Livy and Cicero write Proculus Iulius, but Florus Iulius Proculus.

117. 8. nam et alii scriptores eorum defectioni solis addunt etiam subitam tempestatem.

See Livy 1. 16. 1, subito coorta tempestas cum magno fragore tonitribusque tam denso regem operuit nimbo ut conspectum eius contioni abstulerit. Eutrop. Brev. 1. 2, orta subito tempestate. Florus Epit. 1. 1. 1, oborta tempestas solisque defectio consecrationis speciem prae-buere.

117. 12 and 28. qui et ipse (Tullus Hostilius) fulmine absumptus est.

See Livy 1. 31. 8, sed ira Iovis sollicitati prava religione fulminé ictum cum domo conflagrasse. Eutrop. Brev. 1. 4, fulmine ictus cum domo sua arsit. Jerome's Chron. of Eusebius (BE vol. 8, col 363).

117. 26. excepto Numa Pompilio et Anco Marcio qui morbo interierunt.

Livy 1. 21. 6 does not say how Numa died, but we may probably infer from this silence that Livy supposed he died a natural death. Florus Epit. 1. 1. 2 likewise says nothing as to the manner of his death. Cic. De Re pub. 2. 14. 27, excessit e vita; Eutropius alone (Brev. 1. 3) writes expressly morbo decessit; Plutarch, Vitae, Numa 21 (ad fin.), ὁ Νομάς ἐτελεύτησεν οὐ ταχείας οὐδ' αἰφνιδίου γενομένης αὐτῷ τῆς τελευτῆς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπὸ γήρωσ καὶ νόσου μαλακῆς ἀπομαραρινόμενος ὥς ἰστορεῖκε Πίσων.

In regard to Ancus neither Livy (1. 35) nor Florus (Epit. 1. 1. 4) gives details as to how he died, nor does Cicero (De Re pub. 2. 18. 33). Jerome's Chron. of Eusebius (BE vol. 8, col. 366), ad extremum morbo periit;

Eutrop. Brev. 1. 5, morbo periit. But Jerome (BE 8. 359) says nothing about the death of Numa Pompilius. Accordingly in both cases Augustine has followed Eutropius. Is it possible that this statement and the following (p. 117, 28. 30. 31) were found also in the Hortensius of Cicero, in which was recorded the translation of Romulus (p. 117, 21)?

117. 28. Tullus, ut dixi, Hostilius, victor et eversor Albae, cum tota domo sua fulmine concrematus est.

Again Eutropius is Augustine's authority. Compare Brev. 1. 4, Hic bella reparavit, Albanos vicit . . . fulmine ictus cum domo sua arsit. Livy gives the same account: vir Iovis sollicitati prava religione fulmine ictum cum domo conflagrasse (1. 31. 8).

117. 30. Priscus Tarquinius per sui decessoris filios interemptus est.

See Livy 1. 40. 7. The source is Eutrop. Brev. 1. 6, per Anci filios occisus est, regis eius cui ipse successerat. Cic. De Re pub. 2. 21. 38, Jerome's Chron. of Euseb. BE, vol. 8, col. 357.

117. 31. Servius Tullius generi sui Tarquinii Superbi qui ei successit in regnum nefario scelere occisus est.

See Livy 1. 48. The source is Eutrop. Brev. 1. 7, Occisus est scelere generi sui Tarquini Superbi, filii eius regis, cui ipse successerat, et filiae quam Tarquinius habebat uxorem. Augustine here makes no mention of the participation of Tullia in the act, as Eutropius does, and Livy refers to the same, but compare p. 118. 30, generi sui scelere nec ignorante filia. Jerome, Chron. of Euseb. (Bened. ed., vol. 8, col. 373): Tarquinii Superbi, generi sui, superioris regis

filii, scelere occisus est Augustine's language here closely follows that of Eutropius, whom he seems to be following as his authority.

118. 8. de manubiis Capitolium fabricantem.

See Florus Epit. 1. 1. 7. de manubiis captarum urbium templum erexit, also Eutrop. Brev. 1. 8, Livy 1. 55. 7. Augustine here has followed Florus or Livy rather than Eutropius.

118. 17. de Lucretiae stupro.

See note p. 31. 12.

118. 18. Ardeam civitatem tunc oppugnabat.

See Livy 1. 57, Florus Epit. 1. 1. 7, Eutrop. Brev. 1. 8.

118. 27. in oppido Tusculo Romae vicino quattuordecim, ut fertur, annos privatam vitam quietus habuit et cum uxore consenuit.

See Livy 2. 15. 7, Tarquinius, spe omni reditus incisa, exulatum ad generum Mamilium Octavium Tusculum abiit. Florus does not mention this. But Augustine here closely follows Eutropius Brev. 1. 11, Tusculum se contulit, quae civitas non longe ab urbe est, atque ibi per quattuordecim annos privatus cum uxore consenuit. Eutropius alone matches the words privatus, quattuordecim annos, and cum uxore consenuit, as Livy and others do not give these details.

119. 8. per ducentos ferme et quadraginta tres annos.

Livy Epit. 1, regnatum est annis CCLV, while Livy 1. 60. 3, regnatum Romae ab con-

dita urbe ad liberatam ducentos quadraginta quattuor, Cic. De Re pub. 2. 30. 52, Iis enim regiis quadraginta annis et ducentis paulo. Florus, Epit. 1. 1, prima aetas sub regibus fuit prope per annos quadringentos which seems to have better MSS. authority than the more correct prope ducentos quinquaginta per annos. Jerome, Chron. of Euseb. Bened. ed. vol. 8, col. 381, Romanorum reges a Romulo, septem usque ad Tarquinium Superbum, imperaverunt annis CCXL sive, ut quibusdam placet, CCXLIII (al. CCXLIV).

But Augustine is evidently following Eutropius as his authority; compare Brev. 1. 8, Ita Romae regnatum est per septem reges annis ducentis quadraginta tribus.

119. 10. vix illud imperium intra viginti ab urbe milia dilataverint.

See Eutrop. Brev. 1. 8 (ad fin.), cum adhuc Roma. ubi plurimum, vix usque ad quintum decimum miliarium possideret, and Jerome, Chron. of Euseb., BE, vol. 8, col. 381, vix usque ad XV lapidem Romani tenebant imperium. If the MS. readings are correct Augustine seems to have made a slip in writing intra viginti ab urbe milia, unless, of course, he is conscious that he is speaking very generally, for "XV." is certainly intra viginti.

119. 26. Nam Iunius Brutus exhonortum eiecit urbe collegam Lucium Tarquinium Collatinum.

See note p. 73. 14.

119. 28. ipse (Iunius Brutus) in bello cecidit mutuis cum hoste vulneribus, occisis a se ipso primitus filiis suis

et uxoris suae fratribus, quod eos restituendo Tarquinio coniurasse cognoverat.

See Livy 2. 5 sq., Cic. Tusc. 1. 37. 89, Id. De Sen. 20. 74, Florus Epit. 1. 3 sq., Eutrop. Brev. 1. 10.

120. 17. Nam et idem Brutus consanguineus Tarquinii fuisse perhibetur.

The source is evidently Livy 1. 56. 7: L. Iunius Brutus, Tarquinia, sorore regis, natus. Eutropius gives a different version: Brutus parens et ipse Tarquini (Brev. 1. 8. 2).

120. 28. consul cum Bruto creatus est maritus Lucretiae L. Tarquinius Collatinus.

See Livy 1. 60, Florus Epit. 1. 3, Eutrop. Brev. 1. 9, fuerunt igitur anno primo ab expulsis regibus consules L. Iunius Brutus.... et Tarquinius Collatinus, maritus Lucretiae.

121. 5. Lucretius quoque, qui in locum Bruti subrogatus, morbo antequam idem annus terminaretur, absumptus est. Ita P. Valerius, qui successerat Collatino, et M. Horatius, qui pro defuncto Lucretio suffectus fuerat, annum illum funereum atque tartareum, qui consules quinque habuit, compleverant.

See Livy 2. 8 sq., also Eutrop. Brev. 1. 10, Valerius Publicola Sp. Lucretium Tricipitinum collegam sibi fecit, Lucretiae patrem, quo morbo mortuo iterum Horatium Pulvillum collegam sibi sumpsit. Ita primus annus quinque consules habuit, cum Tarquinius Collatinus propter

nomen urbe cessisset, Brutus in proelio perisset, Sp. Lucretius morbo mortuus esset.

It should be noted here that Augustine has followed Livy (2. 8. 9) in giving to Valerius the praenomen Publius, as against Eutropius (Brev. 1. 9. 4), who gives Lucius, in spite of the fact that Augustine had before him Eutropius at the close of this chapter (16), though in DCD V. 18 (p. 227. 2), where his authority is also Eutropius, he gives L. Valerium, thus repeating there the error of Eutropius which he has here corrected.

123. 6. quando Valerius consul ab exulibus et servis inscensum Capitolium cum defensaret occisus est.

See Livy 3. 18.

123. 11. quando densissimis fatigata civitas seditionum malis, cum legatos Athenas missos ad leges mutuandas paululum quieta opperiretur, gravi fame pestilentiaque vastata est?

See Livy 3. 31-32.

123. 14. populus, cum fame laboraret, praefectum annonae primum creavit, atque illa fame invalescente Spurius Maelius, quia esurienti multitudini frumenta largitus est, regni adfectati crimen incurrit et eiusdem praefecti instantia per dictatorem L. Quintium aetate decrepitum a Quinto Servilio occisus est?

See Livy 4. 12 sq., Florus Epit. 1. 17, Cic. De Sen. 56, Id. De Re pub. 2. 27. 49, Id. In Cat. 1. 1. 3, Plutarch, Vitae, Brutus 1. After examining all these sources we conclude that Augustine here followed Livy.

123. 21. quando pestilentia maxima exorta diis inutilibus populus diu

multumque fatigatus nova lectisternia, quod nunquam antea fecerat, exhibenda arbitratus est?

From Livy 5. 13. 4: gravis pestilensque omnibus animalibus aestas excepit. Cuius insanabili pernicie quando nec causa nec finis inveniebatur, libri Sibyllini ex senatus consulto aditi sunt.... lectisterno tunc primum in urbe Romana facto....

123. 26. quando per decem continuos annos male pugnando crebras et magnas clades apud Veios exercitus Romanus acceperat, nisi per Furium Camillum tandem subveniretur, quem postea civitas ingrata damnavit? Ubi erant, quando Galli Romam ceperunt spoliaverunt incenderunt caedibus impleverunt?

From Livy ; see note p. 73. 21.

123. 31. cum illa insignis pestilentia tam ingentem stragem dedit, qua et ille Furius Camillus extinctus est.

From Livy 7. 1. 8; maximeque eam pestilentiam insignem mors quam matura tam acerba M. Furi fecit.

124. 2. In hac pestilentia scaenicos ludos.... intulerunt.

From Livy ; see note p. 49. 8.

124. 4. alia pestilentia gravis de venenis matronarum exorta credita est.

From Livy 8. 18, who gives the names of two of them as Cornelia and Sergia.

124. 7. quando in Caudinas furculas a Samnitibus obsessi ambo cum exercitu consules foedus cum iis foedum facere coacti sunt, ita ut equitibus Romanis sescentis obsidibus datis ceteri amis armis aliisque spoliati privatique tegminibus sub iugum hostium cum vestimentis singulis mitterentur?

From Livy 9. 2 sq. See also Florus Epit. 1. 11, Eutrop. Brev. 2. 9.

124. 12. quando gravi pestilentia ceteris laborantibus multi etiam in exercitu icti fulmine perierunt?

From Livy 10. 31: in exercitu Ap. Claudii plerosque fulminibus ictos nuntiatum est.

124. 14. alia intolerabili pestilentia Aesculapium ab Epidauro quasi medicum deum Roma advocare atque adhibere compulsa est.

From Livy; see note p. 109. 23.

124. 19. cum conspirantibus uno tempore hostibus Lucanis, Brutiis, Samnitibus, Etruscis et Senonibus Gallis primo ab eis legati perempti sunt, deinde cum praetore oppressus exercitus septem tribunis cum illo pereuntibus et militum tredecim milibus?

From Livy. Compare Epit. 12: cum legati Romanorum a Gallis Senonibus intercepti essent, bello ob id Gallis indicto, L. Caecilius praetor ab eis cum legionibus caesus est.... Samnites defecerunt. Adversus eos et Lucanos et Brittios et Etruscos

aliquot proeliis a compluribus ducibus bene pugnatum est; also Florus Epit. 1. 12, Eutrop. Brev. 2. 10.

The exact details given by Augustine are not, so far as I know, found in any extant Latin author before the time of Augustine; but the account was found in the twelfth book of Livy, of which we have only the epitome: the words from which (quoted above) briefly refer to circumstances in which such a calamity might well take place; it mentions the four nations which were united against the Romans.

124. 24. post longas et graves Romae seditiones, quibus ad ultimum plebs in Ianiculum hostili diremptione secesserat, . . . dictator crearetur Hortensius qui plebe revocata in eodem magistratu exspiravit.

See Livy Epit 11: plebs propter aes alienum post graves et longas seditiones ad ultimum secessit in Ianiculum, unde a Q. Hortensio dictatore deducta est; isque in ipso magistratu decessit, and in this eleventh book of Livy's own work Augustine found his information.

124. 31. ut inopia militum proletarii illi . . . militiae conscriberentur.

This is not recorded in the extant works of Livy. But we may without a doubt say that it was found originally in the earlier part of the twelfth book of Livy, and that for three reasons; *first*, Augustine seems to have followed in this chapter an accurate chronological sequence, according to the order given by Livy, of the events of Roman history (Valerius consul . . . occisus—legatos Athenas missos—praefectum annonae primum creavit—dictatorem L. Quintium—nova lectisternia—per decem continuos annos . . . apud Veios—Galli Romam

ceperunt—illa insignis pestilentia—scaenicos ludos—pestilentia gravis de venenis matronarum—in Caudinas furculas—multi etiam in exercitu icti fulmine—Aesculapium ab Epidauro—conspirantibus uno tempore hostibus . . . —plebs ad Ianiculum—Hortensius, on all of which see notes). This sequence seems to be continued also after this event. So then the event to which Augustine refers would come naturally after the death of Hortensius which was related toward the end of Livy 11 (compare epit. 11 ad fin.); *secondly*, as the terminus a quo would seem to be the death of Hortensius, so the terminus ad quem would seem to be Accitus etiam a Tarentinis Pyrrhus, which was evidently recorded in the latter part of Livy 12; compare Epit. 12, Pyrrhus . . . ut auxilium Tarentinis ferret, in Italian venit; *thirdly*, Augustine informs us that the proletarii were enrolled for warfare after multa bella ubique crebruerunt, and, since this does not occur in the *extant* books of Livy, what other time could better suit this than that described in Livy Epit 12, from which we learn that the Senonian Gauls, Samnites, Lucanians, Bruttians and Etruscans were in arms against Rome?

Compare fragment 12 in Hertz' edition of Livy from pope Gelasius Ep. adv. Andromachum: Livio auctore, saepissime in hac urbe exorta pestilentia infinita hominum milia deperisse atque eo frequenter ventum, ut vix esset unde illis bellicosus temporibus exercitus potuisset adscribi.

We should note the resemblance between Augustine's language above and that of Orosius (Adv. pag. 4. 1. 3) Romanos qui quantique hostes circumstrepserent permetientes ultima adigit necessitas proletarios quoque in arma

cogere, hoc est eos qui in urbe semper sufficiendae prolis causa vacabat, militiae adscribere. Orosius must have followed Augustine here, as Zangemeister admits.

124. 34. Accitus etiam a Tarentinis Pyrrhus

From Livy. See Epit. 12: Pyrrhus, ut auxilium Tarentinis ferret, in Italiam venit, also Florus Epit. 1. 13, Eutrop. Brev. 2. 11: Hi (Tarentini) Pyrrhum, Epiri regem, contra Romanos in auxilium poposcerunt. Plutarch, Vitae, Pyrrhus 13.

125. 2. Cui sane de rerum futuro eventu consulenti satis urbane Apollo sic ambiguum oraculum edidit, ut e duobus quidquid accidisset, ipse divinus haberetur (ait enim, 'Dico te, Pyrrhe, vincere posse Romanos').

Compare Cic. De Div. 2. 56. 116, who quotes Ennius' line: Aio te, Aeacida, Romanos vincere posse. This no doubt occurred in the latter part of Livy 12, as Pyrrhus would naturally consult the oracle before entering on the war with Rome. From Livy Augustine evidently took this; first, because all the other events in this chapter seem to be taken from Livy; secondly, Augustine seems to be quoting accurately some definite source, Dico te, Pyrrhe, vincere posse Romanos, as compared with the line of Ennius quoted above. This is not mentioned in Plutarch's life of Pyrrhus.

125. 12. in tanta strage bellorum etiam pestilentia gravis exorta est mulierum. Nam priusquam maturos partus ederent, gravidae moriebantur.

This event occurred in the war with Pyrrhus (in tanta strage bellorum) which was related in Livy 12 (latter part), 13, and 14 (former part), and after the introduction

of Aesculapius to Rome (*ubi se, credo, Aesculapius excusabat, quod archiatrum, non obstetricem profitebatur*). This pestilentialia mulierum is not mentioned in the epitome of Livy, and we know not exactly at what time in the war it happened, but we may assign it to Livy 13, which, as we learn from the epitome, gives a notice of the first fighting, or to the earlier part of 14, which gives the defeat of Pyrrhus and the conclusion of the war. Perhaps we might note here that in A. U. C. 472, the second year of the war with Pyrrhus, *censa sunt civium capita ducenta octoginta septem milia ducenta viginti duo* (Livy Epit. 13), and in A. U. C. 477, *censa sunt capita civium ducenta septuaginta unum milia ducenta triginta quattuor* (Epit. 14)—showing a decrease in the population, doubtless owing to war and pestilence.

625. 16. *Pecudes quoque similiter interibant.*

This occurred in several pestilences, compare Livy 3. 6; 3. 32; 5. 13; 41. 21; but none of these is referred to here, as Augustine is speaking of the time of the war with Pyrrhus. Compare notes p. 124. 31, 125. 2.

125. 18. *hiems illa memorabilis tam incredibili inmanitate saeviens, ut nivibus horrenda altitudine etiam in foro per dies quadraginta manentibus Tiberis quoque glacie duraretur.*

This is not mentioned in Livy's epitome, but no doubt Augustine found it in the 13th or 14th book of Livy's own work.

125. 22. *illa itidem ingens pestilentialia, quamdiu saeviit, quam multos peremit! Quae cum in annum alium multo gravius tenderetur frustra*

praesente Aesculapio, aditum est ad libros Sibyllinos. . . . Tunc ergo dictum est eam esse causam pestilentiae quod plurimas aedes sacras multi occupatas privatim tenerent.

Nor is this incident mentioned in the Epitome, but it no doubt was taken from Livy book 13 or 14 (compare *itidem*, and *frustra praesente Aesculapio*).

126. 11. *Punicis bellis. . . .*

See for first Punic war Livy Epit 16 sq., Florus Epit. 1. 18, Eutrop. Brev. 2. 20 sq. For the second Punic war see Livy 21. 1 sq., Florus Epit. 1. 22, Eutrop. Brev. 3. 7 sq.: for the third Livy Epit. 48 sq., Florus, Epit. 1. 31, Eutrop. Brev. 4. 10.

126. 24. *Instaurati sunt ex auctoritate librorum Sibyllinorum ludi saeculares, quorum celebritas inter centum annos fuerat instituta felicioribusque temporibus memoria neglegente perierat. Renovarunt etiam pontifices ludos sacros inferis et ipsos abolitos annis retrorsum melioribus.*

Augustine might have derived his information here from Varro. Compare Censorinus, *De die natali*, 17. 8, Varro *de scaenicis originibus libro primo ita scriptum reliquit*. But it is fairly certain that he is still following Livy, whose religious mind could hardly fail to note such events as important. We should refer the mention of these *ludi* to book 16, or to one of the following books, of which we have only the epitome in which this is passed over in silence. For the *ludi sacri* compare Epit. 16, Brutus *munus gladiatorium in honorem defuncti patris primus edidit*. That Livy mentioned the *ludi saeculares* of the Augustan age we are assured by Censorinus, *De die natali* 17. 9.

127. 14. *exundante nimis ultra morem fluvio Tiberino paene omnia urbis*

plana subversa sunt, aliis impetu quasi torrentis impulsis, aliis velut stagno diuturno madefactis atque sublapsis.

The events referred to in this chapter occurred in the first Punic war (*primo bello Punico* p. 127. 2), and chapter 19 begins *Secundo autem Punico bello*. Augustine found this incident probably in the nineteenth book of Livy. The epitome does not mention it; but it is related by Augustine between the disaster of Regulus (mentioned in *Epit.* 18) and the burning of the temple of Vesta: *Istam deinde pestem ignis perniciosior subsecutus est*, which is mentioned toward the end of *epit.* 19. At any rate Livy was undoubtedly Augustine's source.

127. 17. *Istam deinde pestem ignis perniciosior subsecutus est qui.... templo Vestae non pepercit.... Cuius impetu exterritae virgines sacra illa fatalia.... cum ab illo incendio liberare non possent, Metellus pontifex suae quodam modo salutis oblitus inruens ea semiustus abripuit.*

See Livy *Epit.* 19 (*ad fin.*): *cum templum Vestae arderet, Caecilius Metellus pontifex maximus ex incendio sacra rapuit*, and this 19th book of Livy's own work was Augustine's source.

128. 17. *his quoque fatentibus qui non tam narrare bella Romana quam Romanum imperium laudare instituerunt.*

In these words Augustine refers chiefly to Florus whose words he at once proceeds to quote.

128. 19. *similior victo fuerit ille qui vicit.*

These words are a quotation from Florus Epit. 1. 22. 1: *similior victo sit populus ille qui vicit*, which is an additional proof that Augustine used Florus as one of his authorities. Dombart gives this reference.

128. 27. *De Cannensi autem mirabiliter horrendo malo.*

See Livy 22. 44. sq., Florus Epit. 1. 22. 15, Eutrop. Brev. 3. 10.

128. 28. *ubi Hannibal . . . tanta inimicorum atrocissimorum caede satiatu parci iussisse perhibetur.*

Here again Augustine has followed Florus, for Livy does not mention the incident. Compare Florus Epit. 1. 22. 17: *Itaque duo maximi exercitus caesi ad hostium satietatem, donec Hannibal diceret militi suo 'parce ferro.'*

129. 1. *Unde tres modios anulorum aureorum Carthaginem misit.* .

See Livy 23. 12: *effundi in vestibulo curiae iussit anulos aureos, qui tantus acervus fuit ut metientibus dimidium super tris modios explesse sint quidam auctores. Fama tenuit quae propior vero est haut plus fuisse modio.* Florus Epit. 1. 22. 18, *modi duo anulorum Carthaginem missi.* Eutrop. Brev. 3. 11: *tres modios anulorum aureorum Carthaginem misit.* Augustine clearly follows Eutropius against Livy and Florus in the number of *modii*, for not only is the subject matter the same, but the very words *tres modios anulorum aureorum Carthaginem misit* occur verbatim in Eutropius. Compare also Val. Max., 7. 2. 16, who also gives *trium modiorum mensuram*. Kuhlmann (p. 7) erroneously thinks that

Augustine has taken this from Livy. (See Literary Sources of Augustine, DCD. I-X, page 31).

129. 7. Denique tanta militum iniopia secuta est ut Romani reos facinorum proposita impunitate colligerent, servitia libertate donarent....

See Livy 23. 14. Florus Epit. 1, 22. 23: in sacramentum liberata servitia, Eutrop. Brev. 3. 10 (ad fin.): servi, quod numquam ante, manumissi et milites facti sunt. Thus Florus and Eutropius mention only servitia or servi, while Livy adds qui capitalem fraudem ausi quique pecuniae indicati in vinculis essent, which account Augustine seems to have followed here, though it should be noted how closely the words of Augustine (p. 129. 12) arma defuerunt. Detracta sunt templis resemble those of Florus 1. 22. 23: arma non erant: detracta sunt templis, while reos facinorum proposita impunitate colligerent could not come from Florus. Augustine had then the account as given by Livy in mind, while at the same time he perhaps had Florus before his eyes, using almost his words.

129. 30. exitium Saguntinorum....

See Livy 21. 6 sq., Florus Epit. 1. 22. 3 sq., and Eutrop. Brev. 3. 7.

130. 5. missi legati ad Hannibalem ut ab eius obsidione discederet. Contempti Carthaginem pergunt.

Comparing this with the account of Florus (Epit. 1. 22. 7) it is certain that Augustine did not use him as his primary authority here, as Florus does not mention the embassy first to Hannibal. The source is probably Livy: compare 21. 9. 3. The same account is given by Eutropius Brev. 3. 7. 3: Huic Romani per legatos denuntiaverunt ut

bello abstineret. Is legatos admittere noluit. Romani etiam Carthaginem miserunt. The words which Augustine employs to denote the time spent in sending embassies during the siege *Dum haec morae aguntur* (p. 130.8) may be an echo of Livy 21. 11. 3: *Dum Romani tempus terunt legationibus mittendis*; this resemblance has been pointed out by Kuhlmann (work cited above p. 12).

130. 10. octavo vel nono a Poenis mense deleta est.

Eutropius could not have been Augustine's source here as he does not (Brev. 3. 7) state the number of months of the duration of the siege. That Augustine knew Florus here we argue from his giving *vel nono* with which compare Florus Epit. 1. 22. 3 *novem mensibus* cited in note p. 129.30; but he did not here use Florus as a primary source, writing *octavo vel nono*, from which we conclude that Livy was his first authority: compare Livy 21 15. 3, *octavo mense quam coeptum oppugnari captum Saguntum quidam scripsere*. As Augustine had evidently Florus before him, as we saw from notes on chap. 19, he noticed that Florus gave nine months, hence he added *vel nono*. Also both Augustine and Livy speak of Saguntum as a *civitas opulentissima* (Augustine DCD p. 130. 8, Livy 21. 7. 2).

130. 13. nam etiam suorum cadaveribus a nonnullis pasta perhibetur.

This is not recorded by Livy or Florus or Eutropius, nor can we point to any authority which Augustine may have had for these words. *Perhibetur* seems to show that Augustine is not quoting, but has merely in mind some story of this or a similar siege.

132. 9. Scipio . . . inimicorum accusationibus cessit carensque patria, quam

sua virtute salvam et liberam reddidit, in oppido Linternensi egit reliquam complevitque vitam, post insignem suum triumphum nullo illius urbis captus desiderio, ita ut iussisse perhibeatur ne saltem mortuo in ingrata patria funus fieret.

See Livy 38. 50. 7: Roma victrix victorem Africanum expellat; 38. 52. 1: Hic speciosus ultimus dies P. Scipioni inluxit. Post quem cum invidiam et certamina cum tribunis prospiceret, die longiore prodicta in Liternum concessit, and 38. 53. 8: vitam Literni egit sine desiderio urbis. Morientem rure eo ipso loco sepeliri se iussisse ferunt, monumentumque ibi aedificari, ne funus sibi in ingrata patria fieret. See also Val. Max. 5. 3. 2b.: eiusque voluntarii exilii acerbiter non tacitus ad infernos tulit, sepulchro suo inscribi iubendo 'ingrata patria ne ossa quidem mea habes.' But the source here is undoubtedly Livy, from whom Augustine took the words ne in ingrata patria funus fieret.

132. 19. Deinde tunc primum per Gneum Manlium proconsulem de Gallograecis triumphantem Asiatica luxuria Romam omni hoste peior inrepsit. Tunc enim primum lecti aerati et pretiosa stragula visa perhibentur, tunc inductae in convivia psaltriae et alia licentiosa nequitia.

Augustine seems to have had in mind here the words of Livy found in 39. 6. 7. (quoted p. 33 in Literary Sources of Augustine DCD I-X). Compare Florus Epit. 1. 47. 7.

133. 7. lata est etiam illa lex Voconia, ne quis heredem feminam faceret, nec unicam filiam.

See Livy Epit. 41: Q. Voconius Saxa tribunus plebis legem tulit ne quis mulierem heredem institueret. Compare also Cic. pro Balbo 8. 21, and De Re pub. 3. 10. 17.

133. 29. Numantinum foedus horrenda ignominia maculosum; volaverant enim pulli de cavea et Mancino consuli, ut aiunt, augurium malum fecerant.

See Livy Epit. 55: C. Hostilio Mancino consule sacrificante pulli ex cavea evolverunt. . . . Et victus enim a Numantinis et castris exutus, cum spes nulla servandi exercitus esset, pacem cum eis fecit ignominiosam. Florus Epit. 1. 34. 5, Eutrop. Brev. 4. 17. The 55th book of Livy's own work was Augustine's source.

134. 7. quod Mithridates rex Asiae ubique in Asia peregrinantes cives Romanos atque innumerabili copia suis negotiis intentos uno die occidi iussit; et factum est.

See Livy Epit. 78, iussuque eius quidquid civium Romanorum in Asia fuit uno die trucidatum est. Florus Epit. 1. 40. 7; Eutrop. Brev. 5. 5; Vell. Pat. Hist. Rom. 2. 18. Augustine's brief mention of this massacre makes it impossible to determine exactly his source—probably Livy.

135. 13. Namque antequam se adversum Romam sociale Latium commoveret, cuncta animalia humanis usibus subdita, canes equi asini boves et quaeque alia pecora sub hominum

dominio fuerunt, subito efferata et domesticae lenitatis oblita....

An account of this was probably found in the seventy-second book of Livy. Julius Obsequens 54 has preserved it for us from Livy: cum ex agris in urbem pecora armentaque Latini agerent, strage hominum passim facta armenta in tantam rabiem concitata sunt, ut vastando suos hostile imaginarentur bellum. Compare also Orosius, Adv. pag. 5. 18. 9, who probably knew this passage from Augustine.

135. 28. Seditiones Gracchorum agrariis legibus excitatae.

See Livy Epit. 58 sq., Florus Epit. 2. 1-3. Either of these authors, or both, may be the source of Augustine's knowledge of the Gracchi.

136. 8. Post Gracchi alterius interfectionem Lucius Opimius consul.... tria milia hominum occidisse perhibetur.

This was probably found in the now lost sixty-first book of Livy though not found in the epitome. See Plut. Vitae, C. Gracchus, 18 (ad init.) οὗτος μέντοι πρῶτος ἐξουσία δικτάτορος ἐν ὑπατείᾳ χρησάμενος καὶ κατακτείνας ἀκρίτους ἐπὶ τρισχιλίοις πολίταις Γαίον Γράκχον καὶ Φούλβιον Φλάκκον.

136. 16. Percussor Gracchi ipsius caput, quantum grave erat, tanto auri pondere consuli vendidit; haec enim pactio caedem praecesserat.

Compare Florus Epit. 2. 3. 6: insultatum quoque mortis reliquis et illud sacrosanctum caput tribuni plebis percussoribus auro repensatum. The same may have been found even with more detail in the lost sixty-first book of Livy. Most likely on Livy's authority Augustine writes haec enim pactio caedem praeces-

serat. This is put almost beyond doubt by the fact that Plutarch (Vitae C. Gracchus 17) records the same: *ἦν γὰρ προκεκηρυγμένον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς μάχης ἰσοστάσιον χρυσίον τοῖς ἀνεγκοῦσι τὴν Γαίον καὶ Φουλουίου κεφαλὴν*. Compare also Pliny N. H. 33. 3. 48: cum Septumuleius C. Gracchi familiaris auro rependendum caput eius abscisum ad Opimium tulerit, plumboque in os addito parricidio suo rem p. etiam circumscripserit.

136. 19. occisus est cum liberis Marcus Fulvius consularis.

The source was Livy; see Epit. 61., Vell. Pat. Hist. Rom. 2. 6: Flaccus in Aventino cum filio maiore iugulatus est; also Plut. Vitae, C. Gracchus 17.

136. 25. aedes Concordiae facta est.

An account of this was probably found in the now lost sixty-first book of Livy; Plutarch (Vitae C. Gracchus 17) mentions its construction. That some contemporaries of the event felt as Augustine did about the erection of the temple we have evidence in the words of the inscription which Plutarch (Vitae, C. Gracchus, 17 ad fin.) tells us some one wrote by night on the temple, *ἔργον ἀπονόίας ναὸν ὁμονόίας ποιεῖ*.

138. 4. Lucius Saturninus tribunus plebis et Gaius Servilius praetor, et multo post Marcus Drusus quorum omnium seditionibus caedes iam tunc gravissimae....

See Livy Epit. 69 sq. Vell. Pat. Hist. Rom. 2. 12 sq. Val. Max. 9. 7. 3, Florus Epit. 1. 4. 7. 8, 2. 4. 1 sq., 2. 5. 1 sq. Plut. Vitae, Marius 28 sq.

138. 7. deinde socialia bella exarserunt.

See Livy Epit. 72: Italici populi defecerunt Picentes Vestini Marsi

Paeligni Marrucini Samnites Lucani,
 Florus Epit. 2. 6, Vell. Pat. Hist. Rom. 2. 15, Eutrop.
 Brev. 5. 3.

138. 9. Bellum deinde servile successe-
 sit. . . . Iam ex paucissimis, hoc est
 minus quam septuaginta, gladiatoribus
 quem ad modum bellum servile con-
 tractum sit. . . .

In Livy Epit. 56 and 69 there is mention of bellum
 servile. But the one to which Augustine here refers is
 that of Livy Epit. 95 sq. Compare Florus Epit. 2. 7. and 2.
 8, Vell. Pat. Hist. Rom. 2. 30, Eutrop. Brev. 6. 7.

Ex paucissimis, hoc est minus quam
 septuaginta, gladiatoribus. There is the
 greatest diversity in regard to the exact number of gladiators
 who caused the bellum Spartacium. Seventy is
 probably a round number here. Livy Epit. 95 quattuor
 et septuaginta, with which Eutropius agrees (Brev.
 6. 7). Florus (Epit. 2. 8. 3) Spartacus Crixus
 Oenomaus effracto Lentuli ludo cum
 triginta aut amplius eiusdem fortunae
 viris. Vell. Pat. Hist. Rom. 2. 30. 5 sexaginta
 quattuor fugitivi. Cic. Ad Att. 6. 2. 8, non
 amplius, inquis, quinquaginta. Cum
 Spartaco minus multi primo fuerunt.
 Orosius (later than Augustine by a few years) gladiatores
 septuaginta et quattuor (Adv. pag. 5. 24. 1).
 If the MSS. are correct it might seem as if Augustine followed
 Velleius Paterculus. It is true that Florus and Cicero as
 shown above give a number which is indeed minus quam
 septuaginta, but Augustine would not have used
 these words if he had had in mind either the number given by
 Cicero or that given by Florus.

It is also quite possible that minus quam sep-
 tuaginta occurred in Livy's own work, and that the
 Epitome is a conscious correction from a later source. Com-

pare Livy Epit. 1 (ad fin.) regnatum est annis CCLV, with Livy 1. 60. 3, regnatum annos ducentos quadraginta quattuor: and Epit. 23 quos (anulos aureos) excessisse modii mensuram traditur with Livy 23. 12. 1 dimidium super tris modios explesse sint quidam auctores, Fama tenuit, quae propior vero est, haut plus fuisse modio. But against this Livian authority it should be noted that in DCD IV. 5 Augustine writes tres duces habuerunt (p. 151. 16) while Livy Epit. 95 gives only two Crixus and Spartacus, unless we suppose that here again the epitome contains a conscious departure from Livy's own statement. The tres duces habuerunt of DCD IV. 5 tells against assuming Velleius Paterculus as the authority because he mentions only one leader (Hist. Rom. 2. 30. 5).

The best solution is to suppose that Augustine's authority for the bellum servile was the Historiae of Sallust, and that there he found both the tres duces of DCD IV. 5, and the minus quam septuaginta. See Maurenbrecher, Historiarum Reliquiae, p. 146 sq., and frag. 3. 90.

138. 10. bella civilia.

See Livy Epit. 77 sq., Florus Epit. 2. 9 sq., who gives a brief account of all the civil wars to the Bellum cum Antonio et Cleopatra; Eutrop. Brev. 5. 4 sq., Anno urbis conditae sexcentisimo sexagesimo secundo primum Romae bellum civile commotum est. Vell. Pat. Hist. Rom. 2. 19 sq.

138. 23. bella piratarum.

See Livy Epit. 99, Vell. Pat. Hist. Rom. 2. 31 sq., Eutrop. Brev. 6. 12. sq., Florus Epit. 1. 41. *

139. 17. caput Octavii consulis poneretur in rostris, Caesares a Fimbria

domibus trucidarentur suis, duo Crassi pater et filius in conspectu mutuo mactarentur, Baebius et Numitorius unco tracti sparsis visceribus interirent, Catulus hausto veneno se manibus inimicorum subtraheret, Merula flamen Dialis praecisis venis Iovi etiam suo sanguine litaret. In ipsius autem Marii oculis continuo feriebantur, quibus salutantibus dexteram noluisset.

In this passage Augustine must have had before his eyes Florus Epit. 2. 9. 14 (quoted in Literary Sources of Augustine DCD I-X, p. 43). It will be seen from a comparison of these two passages that Augustine either has made a rhetorical inference in the words *unco tracti sparsis visceribus* from the words of Florus *per medium forum unci traxere carnificum*, and has misunderstood Florus altogether in the last statement, or, as Kuhlmann has pointed out (work cited above, p. 19), there are evidences of the use of another historian—doubtless Livy—in the divergence of the narrative of Augustine from that of Florus. See Livy Epit. 80 sq., Vell. Pat. Hist. Rom. 2. 24.

The great difficulty in the above passage of Augustine is connected with the readings of *Caesares a Fimbria* or *Caesar et Fimbria*. The MSS of Augustine read *Caesar et Fimbria*, which reading the BE (1864) retains. This is also the reading given in Strange's ed. 1850, and the one observed by Saisset in his French translation. In the passage from Florus (Epit. 2. 9. 14) by which editors seek to correct Augustine the codex *Bambergensis*, E. III. 22, reads *caesare fimbria*; the codex *Palatinus* and codex *Vossianus* *caesar et fimbria* which is the reading found in the above passage from Augustine. *Caesares a Fimbria* is the correction of Graevius upon Florus, and this correction is adopted in the Bipontine edition 1783, in Jahn's edition (Leip. 1852), in Seebode's edition

(Leip. 1821), in K. Halm's edition (Leip. 1872), in Rossbach's edition (Leip. 1896). Other readings are *caesi a Fimbria*, *caesi a Funebria*. A. Schott proposed *Caesares a Cinna* or *caesares fratres*. Dombart corrects Augustine from Florus, *Caesares a Fimbria* Florus 2. 9. 14; *caesar et fimbria* mss v (crit. note on the place); and Hoffmann follows Dombart here. Little light is thrown on this subject from our extant histories, but *Caesares a Fimbria* seems to suit better the facts we know. Fimbria's death is thus described in Livy Epit. 83: *Fimbria desertus ab exercitu, qui ad Sullam transierat, ipse se percussit, impetravit de servo suo praebens cervicem ut se occideret*, and Plutarch—not that we may lay too much stress on his accuracy as an historian—*Vitae, Sulla 25, ὁρῶν δὲ ὁ Φιμβρίας τὴν μεταβολὴν καὶ τὸν Σύλλαν ὡς ἀδιάλλακτον δεδοικῶς αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ διέφθειρε*.

140. 7. *post Marii maioris pristinas ac recentissimas caedes additae fuerunt aliae graviores a Mario iuvene atque Carbone earundem partium Marianarum, qui Sulla imminente non solum victoriam verum etiam ipsam desperantes salutem cuncta suis aliis caedibus impleverunt.*

See Livy Epit. 83 sq., Florus Epit. 2. 9. 13 sq., Vell. Pat. Hist. Rom. 2. 26.

140. 13. *obsesso etiam senatu de ipsa curia, tamquam de carcere, producebantur ad gladium.*

Florus is clearly the source. See Epit. 2. 9. 20: *obsessaque curia sic de senatu quasi de carcere qui iugularentur educti.*

140. 15. *Mucius Scaevola pontifex . . . suo paene sanguine extinxit.*

See Livy Epit. 86: Q. Mucius Scaevola pontifex maximus fugiens in vestibulo aedis Vestae occisus est; Florus Epit. 2. 9. 21 Mucius Scaevola pontifex Vestalis amplexus aras tantum non eodem igne sepelitur, Vell. Pat. Hist. Rom. 2. 26, Cic. De Orat. 3. 3. 10, Lucan, Pharsalia 1. 126. Augustine probably had the account of Florus in mind.

140. 18. Urbem deinde Sulla victor intravit, qui in villa publica non iam bello sed ipsa pace saeviente septem milia deditorum (unde utique inermia) non pugnando sed iubendo prostraverat.

There is the greatest diversity in our authorities as to the number whom Sulla thus put to death. Compare Livy Epit. 88; octo milia dediticiorum in villa publica trucidavit; Florus Epit. 2. 9. 24: quattuor milia deditorum inermium civium in villa publica interfici iussit; Val. Max. 9. 2. 1: quattuor legiones contrariae partis fidem suam secutas in publica villa . . . obtruncari iussit; Plut. Vitae, Sulla, 30 ἅμα δ' αὐτός τε λέγειν ἐνήρχετο καὶ κατέκοπτον οἱ τεταγμένοι τοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους. Oros. Adv. Pag. 5. 21. 1, septem milia tunc Romanorum Romani interfecerunt and 5. 21. 1, Sulla mox atque urbem victor intravit, tria milia hominum qui se per legatos dediderant contra fas contraque fidem datam inermes securosque interfecit; Seneca De Clem. 1. 12. 2: qui septem milia civium Romanorum contrucidari iussit. Septem milia may have been found in Livy's own work; if the MSS. are correct Augustine would seem to have followed Seneca here who alone gives septem milia;

but it is better to suppose that he has got confused in regard to the number slain by Sulla on his entrance into the city and the number slain in battle before that. Compare the two places cited above from Orosius. It is very strange that Augustine while closely following Florus in this chapter (28) should disagree with him here. It may be that Augustine has made a mistake.

140. 24. donec Sullae suggereretur sinendos esse aliquos vivere ut essent quibus possent imperare qui vicerant.

See Florus Epit. 2. 9. 25, admonente Fufidio vivere aliquos debere ut essent quibus imperarent. This is clearly the source.

140. 27. tabula illa cum magna gratulatione proposita est quae hominum ex utroque ordine splendido, equestri scilicet atque senatorio, occidendorum ac proscribendorum duo milia continebat.

See Livy Epit. 88, Florus Epit. 2. 9. 25: proposita est ingens illa tabula et ex ipso equestris ordinis flore ac senatu duo milia electi qui mori iuberentur, Vell. Pat. Hist. Rom. 2. 28, Plut. Vitae, Sulla 31. Val. Max 9. 2. 1. Evidently Florus is here Augustine's authority. See also in connection with the cruelty of Sulla his epitaph given by Plutarch Vitae, Sulla 38. (ad fin.): τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα φασιν αὐτὸν ὑπογραφάμενον καταλιπεῖν οὗ κεφάλαιόν ἐστιν ὥς οὔτε τῶν φίλων τις αὐτὸν εἰ ποιῶν οὔτε τῶν ἐχθρῶν κακῶς ὑπερεβάλετο.

141. 3. Quendam enim sine ferro lanciantium manus diripuerunt, inmanius homines hominem vivum quam bestiae solent discerpere cadaver abiectum.

From Florus Epit. 2. 9. 26: Baebium sine ferro, ritu ferarum, inter manus lancinatum. Here the language of Augustine is an echo of that of Florus.

141. 6. Alius oculis effossis et particulatim membris amputatis in tantis cruciatibus diu vivere vel potius diu mori coactus est.

From Florus Epit. 2. 9. 26: Marium, oculis effossis manibus cruribusque effractis, servatum aliquamdiu ut per singula membra moreretur. Seneca, De Ira 3 18, M. Mario . . . L. Sulla praefringi crura, erui oculos, amputari linguam, manus iussit et, quasi totiens occideret quotiens vulnerabat, paulatim et per singulos artus laceravit.

141. 8. Subhastatae sunt etiam, tamquam villae, quaedam nobiles civitates.

From Florus Epit. 2. 9. 27: municipia Italiae splendidissima sub hasta venierunt, Spoletium Interamnium Praeneste Florentia.

141. 9. una vero, velut unus reus duci iuberetur, sic tota iussa est trucidari.

From Florus Epit. 2. 9. 28: Sulmonem . . . non expugnat aut obsidet iure belli, sed quo modo morte damnati duci iubentur, sic damnatam civitatem iussit Sulla deleri.

141. 24. Olim Gallorum et paulo ante Gothorum inruptionem.

See notes pp. 1. 3 and 84. 21.

141. 32. Gothi vero tam multis senatoribus pepercerunt ut magis mirum sit quod aliquos peremerunt.

Augustine here takes the milder view of the extent of the slaughter. On the other hand compare Procopius *De bello Vandalico* 1. 2. 12: *τόνς τε ἀνθρώπους ἅπαντας ἔκτεινον ὅσοι ἐγένοντο ἐν ποσίν, ὁμοίως μὲν πρεσβύτας ὁμοίως δὲ νέους οὔτε γυναικῶν οὔτε παίδων φειδόμενοι*: and Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* 7. 10, who says that many senators were tortured and slain: *καὶ πολλοὺς τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς διαφόροις δίκαις ὑποβαλόντες ἀπώλεσαν*.

142. 21. bella Sertorii.

See Livy *Epit.* 79, 90 sq., Florus *Epit.* 2. 10, Eutrop. *Brev.* 6. 1, Vell. Pat. *Hist. Rom.* 2. 30.

142. 21. bella . . . Catilinae.

See Cic. *In Cat.*, Sall. *Cat.*, Livy *Epit.* 102 sq., Florus *Epit.* 2. 12, Eutrop. *Brev.* 6. 15.

142. 23. Lepidi et Catuli bellum.

See Florus *Epit.* 2. 11, Eutrop. *Brev.* 6. 1 sq. Livy *Epit.* 90.

142. 24. ad Pompei et Caesaris (bellum).

See Florus *Epit.* 2. 13, Eutrop. *Brev.* 6. 19 sq., Livy *Epit.* 109 sq.

143. 2. Gaium Caesarem . . . tamquam regni adpetitorem quorundam nobilium coniuratio senatorum velut pro rei publicae libertate in ipsa curia trucidavit.

See Livy *Epit.* 116, Florus *Epit.* 2. 13. 92 sq., Eutrop. *Brev.* 6. 25, Vell. Pat. *Hist. Rom.* 2. 56, Cic. *De Div.* 2. 9. 23, Phil. 2. 12. 29. But in this, as in the rest of this chapter, it is impossible to say which particular writer or writers Augustine has followed for his authority.

143. 8. Antonius, cui vehementer pro eadem illa velut patriae libertate Cicero resistebat.

The source of this is uncertain. It cannot be Florus. See Cicero's *In M. Antonium Philippicae* XIV, Vell. Pat.

Hist. Rom. 2. 64. 2: *Haec sunt tempora quibus M. Tullius continuis actionibus aeternas Antoni memoriae inussit notas*, also Id. 2. 66. Florus and Eutropius do not expressly mention his hostility to Antonius, but speak of his assassination in the proscriptions to which Antonius was a party. See Florus Epit. 2. 16. 5, Eutrop. Brev. 7. 2 (ad fin.) Livy Epit. 120.

144. 21. boves locutos.

See Livy 3. 10. 6; 24. 10. 10; 27. 11. 4; 28. 11. 4; 35. 21. 4; 41. 11. 2. Jul. Obseq. 15, 26, 27, 43, 53. Verg. Georg. 1. 478.

144. 21. infantes nondum natos de uteris matrum quaedam verba clamasse.

See Livy 24. 10. 10 *infantem in utero matris in Marrucinis 'io triumphe' clamasse.*

144. 22. volasse serpentes.

Various prodigies in connection with serpents are related in Livy. Compare 7. 17. 3, Epit. 18, 21. 22. 8, 25. 16. 2, 26. 19. 7; but to none of these does Augustine refer here. He probably had in mind such a prodigy related in one of the books now lost. This is all the more likely because he has evidently taken the other prodigies from Livy's narrative. It is strange that if the above incident occurred in Livy it is not repeated by Julius Obsequens in his *Prodigiorum liber*, as we can prove from his language he knew and in many cases followed Livy, though not always.

144. 22. feminas et gallinas et homines in masculinum sexum fuisse conversas.

See Livy 22, 1. 13; 24. 10. 10; this is not recorded in Julius Obsequens.

144. 27. pluit terra.

See Livy, 10. 31. 8; 35. 21. 3; 37. 3. 3; 42. 20. 5; 45. 16. 5. Jul. Obseq. 1 (55), 14 (73).

144. 27. pluit creta.

See Livy 24. 10. 7. Jul. Obseq. 47 (107).

144. 27. pluit lapidibus.

See Livy 1. 31. 1; 21. 62. 6; 22. 1. 9; 22. 36. 7; 26. 23. 5; 30. 38. 8. Jul. Obseq. 1 (55), 18 (77), 44 (104), 51 (111), 54 (114).

144. 29. Legimus apud eos Aetnaeis ignibus ab ipso montis vertice usque ad littus proximum decurrentibus ita mare ferbuisse ut rupes exurerentur, ut pices navium solverentur.... Eodem rursus aestu ignium tanta vi favillae scripserunt oppletam esse Siciliam, ut Catinensis urbis tecta obruta et pressa dirueret; qua calamitate permoti misericorditer eiusdem anni tributum ei relaxavere Romani.

No doubt this was taken from one of the now lost books of Livy (59 or 60). See Servius on Verg. Georg. 1. 472, Vidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Aetnam].... ut dicit Livius, tanta flamma ante mortem Caesaris ex Aetna monte defluxit, ut non tantum vicinae urbes sed etiam Regina civitas adflaretur. Julius Obsequens refers to the same (Prodig. lib. 32) Aetnae incendio Catina consumpta. Orosius writes of this (Adv. pag. 5. 13. 3): eodem tempore Aetna mons ultra solitum exarsit et torrentibus igneis superfusis lateque circumfluentibus Catinam urbem finesque eius oppressit ita ut tecta aedium calidis cineribus praeusta et praegravata conruerent: cuius levandae cladis causa senatus decem annorum vectigalia Catinensibus remisit. Thus August-

tine and Orosius differ somewhat, the former saying that the Romans remitted *eiusdem anni tributum*, the latter *decem annorum vectigalia*, and it is impossible to decide which is the more correct.

145. 3. *Lucustarum etiam in Africa multitudinem prodigii similem fuisse, cum iam esset populi Romani provincia, litteris mandaverunt; consumptis enim fructibus foliisque lignorum ingenti atque inaestimabili nube in mare dicunt esse deiectam; qua mortuare redditaque littoribus atque hinc aere corrupto tantam ortam pestilentiam ut in solo regno Masi-nissae octingenta hominum milia perisse referantur et multo amplius in terris littoribus proximis. Tunc Uticae ex triginta milibus iuniorum quae ibi erant decem milia remansisse confirmant.*

See Livy Epit. 60, Jul. Obseq. 30 who has preserved Livy's account, *apparuit lucustarum ingenti agmine in Africa, quae a vento in mare deiectae fluctibusque eiectae odore intolerabili Cyrenis mortiferoque vapore gravem pestilentiam fecerunt pecori; hominumque DCCC milia consumpta tabe proditum est.*

Compare Orosius Adv. pag. 5. 11. sq. who again differs from Augustine, and gives a fuller account. The former says that in Numidia where there were *octingenta milia hominum, plus quam ducenta milia perisse traditum est, apud ipsam vero Uticam civitatem triginta milia militum extincta atque abrasa sunt apud Uticam sub una die per unam portam ex illis iunioribus plus quam mille quingentos mortuos elatos fuisse narretur.*

BOOK IV.

146. 16. Note how Augustine says he derived his information for the facts related in the three preceding books: *partim ex recenti memoria* and *partim ex litteris eorum*.

147. 23. *quae uno loco Apuleius breviter stringit in eo libello quem de mundo scripsit, terrena omnia dicens mutationes*

These words and on to p. 148. 8 are taken as a solid piece from chapter 34 (in Hildebrand's edition) of *De Mundo*, *sed magna lectionum diversitate*, as Hildebrand says.

150. 27. *Eleganter enim et veraciter Alexandro illi Magno quidam comprehensus pirata respondit. Nam cum idem rex hominem interrogasset quid ei videretur ut mare infestaret, ille libera contumacia: Quod tibi, inquit, ut orbem terrarum; sed quia id ego exiguo navigio facio, latro vocor; quia tu magna classe, imperator.*

See Cic. *De Re pub.* 3. 14. 24 (preserved by Nonius, pp. 125, 318, 534). *Nam cum quaereretur ex eo quo scelere impulsus mare haberet infestum uno myoparone, 'eodem,' inquit, 'quo tu orbem terrae'.* This is not recorded in Curtius Rufus. Cicero is evidently Augustine's source for this story. See *Literary Sources of DCD I-X* p. 20.

151. 15. *quando paucissimi gladiatores in Campania de ludo fugientes mag-*

num exercitum compararunt, tres duces habuerunt.

See note p. 138. 9.

153. 4. Qualibet autem fide rerum vel iste vel Trogus scripserit (nam quaedam illos fuisse mentitos aliae fideliores litterae ostendunt) constat tamen et inter alios scriptores regnum Assyriorum a Nino rege fuisse longe lateque porrectum.

It is not possible to say to what sources Augustine here refers. Compare Chron. of Euseb. (Jerome, B E vol. 8, col. 44). Ninus fuit rex Assyriorum, maximorum insigniumque facinorum auctor. Id. col. 49, col. 259.

153. 9. Nam sicut scribunt qui chronicam historiam persecuti sunt, mille ducentos et quadraginta annos ab anno primo, quo Ninus regnare coepit, permansit hoc regnum donec transferretur ad Medos.

Compare Chron. of Euseb. (Jerome BE vol. 8, col. 50) Tempus imperii Assyriorum secundum accuratos scriptores anni mille ducenti quadraginta; secundum vero alios mille trecenti. The same number is given in col. 347. On the other hand Iustinus Epit. i. 2. 13 Imperium Assyrii. . . . mille trecentis annis tenuere. Hence Augustine here agrees with the Chronicle of Eusebius and not with Iustinus. Compare DCD, XII. II. in quibus regnum Assyriorum in eadem epistula Alexandri quinque milia excedit annorum; in Graeca vero historia mille ferme et trecentos habet ab ipsius Beli principatu

157. 5. Hunc Varro credit etiam ab his coli qui unum Deum sine simulacro colunt, sed alio nomine nuncupari.

For the fragments of Varro in the fourth book of DCD see Francken pp. 8-31, Schwarz especially pp. 438-449, Agahd, index p 367.

157. 17. Though Augustine does not mention Varro by name in Chapters 10 and 11, there can be little doubt from the nature of the subject and the similarity with other authenticated remains of Varro that these passages are to be attributed to him also.

159. 20. Cui etiam Phoenices donum dabant de prostitutione filiarum, antequam eas iungerent viris.

Though Francken, Schwarz and Agahd do not mention this passage I have no doubt that it is to be referred also to Varro, whom Augustine follows in the preceding and succeeding pages. Probably Varro added this information in his sixteenth book of R D entitled "De Diis selectis." This is treated more fully under Varro in The Sources of Augustine, p. 40.

165. 32. Quietum vero appellantes, quae faceret quietum, cum aedem haberet extra portam Collinam.

Compare Livy 4. 41. 8, via Labicana ad fanum Quietis. From this we learn that there was an aedes dedicated to Quies located extra portam Collinam, while there was a fanum to the same deity on the via Labicana.

167. 11. Hoc (i.e. bonos esse deos) Plato dicit.

Compare Plato Rep. 2. 379 B, οὐκοῦν ἀγαθὸς ὁ γε θεὸς τῷ ὄντι τε καὶ λεκτέον οὕτως; τί μὲν. Ibid. 379 C οὐδ' ἄρα ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὁ θεός, ἐπειδὴ ἀγαθός, πάντων ἂν εἴη αἴτιος . . . οὐκ ἄρα ἀποδεκτέον οὔτε

‘Ομήρου οὐτ’ ἄλλου ποιήτου ταύτην τὴν ἀμαρτίαν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀνοήτως ἀμαρτάνοντος Ibid. 380. 381B ἀλλὰ μὴν ὁ θεός γε καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πάντα ἄριστα ἔχει. Id. Theaet. 176. C. θεὸς οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς ἄδικος

But the above is rather an inference on the part of Augustine from his knowledge of Platonism and Neo-Platonism than a reference to any specific statement of Plato, as no such definite statement is found in Plato.

168. 13. quam Fortunam vocant, ut simulacrum eius, quod a matronis dedicatum est et appellata est Fortuna muliebris, etiam locutum esse memoriae commendaverint atque dixisse non semel sed iterum.

See Livy 2. 40. Lact. Div. Inst. 2. 7. 11, Illud etiam mirabile, quod simulacrum Fortunae muliebris non semel locutum esse traditur; ibid. 2. 16. 11, quod Fortuna muliebris periculum denuntiavit; Val. Max. 1. 8. 4, Id. 5. 2. 1. No doubt this deity was treated of in Varro's work.

169. 5. Virtutem quoque deam fecerunt.

See Livy 27. 25. 7 sq. Id. 29. 11. 13, aedem Virtutis eo anno ad portam Capenam M. Marcellus dedicavit. Lact. Div. Inst. 1. 20. 12, 1. 20. 19, Inst. Ep. 15. 6, Cic. N. D. 2. 23. 61, 3. 36. 88, De Legg. 2. 8. 19, 2. 11. 28, De Repub. 1. 14. 21, Val. Max. 1. 1. 8.

169. 9. et Fides dea credita est et accepit etiam ipsa templum et altare.

See Livy 1. 21. 4, et soli Fidei sollemnē instituit; Cic. N. D. 2. 23. 61, 3. 18. 47, De Legg. 2. 8. 19, 2. 11. 28.

169. 14. Quando quidem virtutem in quattuor species distribuendam esse

viderunt, prudentiam, iustitiam, fortitudinem temperantiam.

Augustine's literary source for the four cardinal virtues was Cicero's Hortensius, as we learn from the *De Trinitate* 14. 9. 12, *De omnibus tamen quattuor (virtutibus) Tullius in Hortensio dialogo disputans*. That this was not the only place in the works of Cicero where the four-fold division of virtue was found we know from Jerome (*Comm. in Zach. works*, BE, vol. 6, col. 1498): *quattuor scilicet virtutes prudentia iustitia fortitudo temperantia, de quibus plenissime in Officiorum libris Tullius disputat, scribens proprium quoque de quattuor virtutibus librum*. A similar list is found in Apuleius (*De dogmate Platonis*, 2. 1; Hildebrand's edition, vol. 2, p. 213) where *pudicitiam* stands for the *temperantiam* of Augustine and Cicero. See the *Literary Sources of DCD I-X*, p. 20.

169. 25. Mucio, cum dexteram porrexit in flammās.

This comes from Livy 2. 12. 12 *cum rex simul ira infensus periculoque conterritus circumdari ignis minitabundus iuberet, nisi expromeret propere quas insidiarum sibi minas per ambages iaceret, 'en tibi,' inquit, 'ut sentias, quam vile corpus sit. iis qui magnam gloriam vident' dextramque accenso ad sacrificium foculo inicit*. See Florus *Epit.* 1. 4. 5.

169. 27. Curio, cum se pro patria in abruptam terram praecipitem dedit.

The source is Livy, in whose history there are two accounts of the origin of the *lacus Curtius*, 1. 13 and 7. 6. It is to the event which took place on the latter occasion (7. 6. 3) that Augustine here refers, *tum M. Cur-*

tium, iuvenem bello egregium castigasse ferunt dubitantes an ullum magis Romanum bonum quam arma virtusque esset? Silentio facto templa deorum immortalium, quae foro imminet, Capitoliumque intuentem et manus nunc in caelum nunc in patentes terrae hiatus ad deos manes porrigentem se devovisse, equoque deinde quam poterat maxime exornato insidentem armatum se in specum immisisse.

In the examples (Mucius, Curtius, Decii pater et filius) of fortitudo which Augustine gives at the close of this chapter he has not followed Florus, for Florus does not record the case of Curtius, nor has he followed Eutropius or Cicero as they do not give the information here required. Augustine's authority must therefore be Livy.

169. 28. Decio patri et Decio filio cum pro exercitu se voverunt.

Livy is the source—P. Decius Mus pater at Vesuvius in the war against the Latins in the year 340 B. C. See Livy 8. 9 sq. Florus Epit. 1. 9. 3. P. Decius Mus filius at Sentinum B. C. 295 in the war against the Gauls Etruscans Samnites and Umbrians. See Livy 9. 40 sq. 10. 28., Florus Epit. 1. 12. 7 nam oppressus in sinu vallis alter consulum Decius more patrio devotum diis manibus obtulit caput.

173. 11. Cur denique tam sero huic tantae deae (Felicitati) post tot Romanos principes Lucullus aedem constituit?

This perhaps occurred in the forty eighth book of Livy now lost, but Augustine may have found it in Varro's writings. There is no mention of Lucullus' building a temple to Felicitas in any of the extant writings of Livy, Florus, Eutropius,

Valerius Maximus, Velleius Paterculus, Seneca, Aulus Gellius, Tertullian or Lactantius. From Cic. In Verr. 4. 57. 126 we know that there existed a temple to Felicitas, but Cicero does not say that Lucullus built it. Arnobius, Adv. Natt. 4. 1. 1 mentions Felicitas among other deities who had shrines.

L. Licinius Lucullus, the grandfather of the Lucullus who subdued Mithridates, is the Lucullus here mentioned. He was consul 151 B. C. and became notorious for his acts of cruelty in Spain, especially against the Vaccaeans.

174. 30. Nam sicut habent eorum litterae, cum rex Tarquinius Capitolium fabricare vellet . . . per augurium quaesivit utrum concedere locum vellent Iovi; atque ipsi inde cedere omnes voluerunt praeter illos quos commemoravi Martem Terminum Iuventatem.

See Livy 1. 55. 4, who mentions Terminus alone as not yielding, while the Epitome of this same book gives Termini et Iuventae arae moveri non potuerunt. So also Florus Epit. 1. 1. 7 cedentibus ceteris diis — mira res dictum — restitere Iuventas et Terminus. Augustine by his addition of Mars to the dissenting deities disagrees with Livy and Florus. This different version Augustine probably obtained from Varro. Francken says: Hoc magis confirmatur quod ceteri, quos adire potui, scriptores Martem Iovi non cedentem non commemorant. See his note p. 22 sq.

177. 26. Iste alienarum dicitur adulter uxorum; iste pueri pulchri impudicus amator et raptor.

These stories about the immorality of Jupiter were doubtless well known in the popular religion. They need not therefore be referred to any particular literary source. Compare DCD, IV. 26. (p. 179. 9) in illis ludis cor-

ruptorem pudicitiae Iovem turpissimi histriones cantabant agebant placebant.

178. 7. Cur ergo ludi scaenici ubi haec dictitantur cantitantur actitantur, deorum honoribus exhibentur, inter res divinas a doctissimis conscribuntur?

The main source seems to be Varro. See Livy 7. 2. 3. ludi quoque scaenici. . . . inter alia caelestis irae placamina instituti dicuntur. Id. 36. 36. 4. Varro must be included in the doctissimis. Compare DCD III. 4. vir doctissimus also DCD. IV. 31 (ad init.) Quid ipse Varro, quem dolemus in rebus divinis ludos scaenicos, quamvis non iudicio proprio, posuisse.

178. 17. Tito Latinio rustico Romano patri familias dictum est in somnis in senatum nuntiaret ut ludi Romani instaurarentur. . . .

See Livy 2. 36, Val. Max. 1. 7. 4, Cic. De Div. 1. 26. 55, Lact. 2. 7. 20. In regard to assigning this fragment to Varro see Francken p. 28, and Schwarz pp. 144, 445, 451.

179. 21. Relatum est in litteras doctissimum pontificem Scaevolam disputasse tria genera tradita deorum, unum a poetis, alterum a philosophis, tertium a principibus civitatis. Primum genus nugatorium dicit esse, quod multa de diis fingantur indigna; secundum non congruere civitatibus, quod habeat aliqua supervacua, aliqua etiam quae obsit populis nosse.

There can be little doubt that Augustine's authority is here Varro, as Bremer (*Iurisprudentia Antehadriana*, Leipzig

1896, vol. 1, p. 48) has noticed: *Scaevolam quem tria genera deorum statuisset Augustinus de civ. dei IV. 27 Varrone auctore narrat.* See also Agahd p. 145. The Scaevola here mentioned was Quintus Mucius Scaevola, who was killed by the party of Marius 82 B.C.

179. 28. *solet enim et a iuris peritis dici: superflua non nocent.*

These words were evidently a law maxim, and one which cannot be traced to any particular source. This whole passage p. 179. 21-p. 180. 19 is given by Bremer (work cited vol. 1. pp. 102-3) as a fragment plane incertae sedis of Scaevola; after which he adds the remark *Fortasse haec disputatio in libros recepta non erat.*

182. 21. *Termini imperii deficientibus multis ad Hannibalem civitatibus in angustum fuerant coartati.*

See Livy 22. 61. 11, *defecere autem ad Poenos hi populi: Atellani, Calatini, Hirpini, Apulorum pars, Samnites praeter hos Uzentini et Graecorum omnis ferme ora, Tarentini, Metapontini, Crotonienses Locrique et Cisalpini omnes Galli.* Eutrop. Brev. 3. 11. Augustine could not be following Florus here, as Florus does not record this defection to Hannibal after Cannae. Apparently Eutropius is the source.

182. 26. *postea in orientalibus partibus Hadriani voluntate mutati sunt termini imperii Romani. Ille namque tres provincias nobiles, Armeniam Mesopotamiam Assyriam Persarum concessit imperio.*

Apparently from Eutropius. See Brev. 8. 6. 2 *Qui Traiani gloriae invidens statim pro-*

vincias tres reliquit, quas Traianus addiderat, et de Assyria, Mesopotamia, Armenia revocavit exercitus ac finem imperii esse voluit Euphraten. Jerome, Chron. of Euseb. BE vol. 8 col. 465.

183. 1. Iulianus . . . immoderato ausu naves iussit incendi, quibus alimonia portabatur; qua exercitus destitutus mox etiam ipso hostili vulnere extincto in tantam est redactus inopiam . . . nisi placito pacis illic imperii fines constituerentur.

Apparently from Eutropius, Brev. 10. 16.

189. 3. Nec Lucinam mulieres illae invocaverunt . . .

Perhaps with special reference to Exodus 1. 19: non sunt Hebraeae sicut Aegyptiae mulieres: ipsae enim obstetricandi habent scientiam, et priusquam veniamus ad eas, pariunt.

BOOK V.

193. 32. nobile illud commentum de figuli rota, quod respondisse ferunt Nigidium hac quaestione turbatum unde et Figulus appellatus est.

This Nigidius Figulus was, according to Gellius (N. A. 4. 9. 1), iuxta M. Varronem doctissimus. He was an astrologer and grammarian, and, as we learn from Apuleius (Apol. 42), was well versed in magic arts. Cicero employed him in the trial of Catiline in 63 B. C. Subsequently he played a considerable part in politics (Cic. pro. Sulla 14. 42, ad Q. F, 1. 2. 16, Ad Att 2. 2. 3). In the civil war he espoused the cause of Pompey (Ad Att. 7. 24) and consequently was obliged to retire into exile in which he died in 46 B. C.

Of the commentum de figuli rota referred to by Augustine I can find no other mention, but I suspect Augustine took it from some work of Cicero no longer extant, as this Nigidius Figulus is most frequently mentioned in Cicero's works. Two other arguments for Ciceronian authority here may be derived first, from the use of inquit . . . inquit (p. 194. 6 and 9) and secondly, from the close connection of this chapter with the foregoing (frustra itaque adfertur). This passage is treated more fully in the part on The Literary Sources of Augustine, p. 21.

197. 13. illud a nonnullis praedicatur, quod quidam sapiens horam elegit qua cum uxore concumberet unde filium mirabilem gigneret.

There seems to be no extant literary source for this statement before the time of Augustine. It has been shown in the Literary Sources of Augustine (p. 22) that it may with a high degree of probability be referred to the De Fato of Cicero.

It might seem as if a nonnullis (plural) prae-

d i c a t u r were against single Ciceronian authority. But we have several instances in Augustine where he uses the plural number where he really would require only the singular. Conspicuous among such examples is one which occurs in this same book (DCD V. 20. p. 231. 6) where Augustine writes *s o l e n t p h i l o s o p h i*, where he has clearly only Cicero in mind. If then *p h i l o s o p h i* can stand for Cicero in particular, surely *a n o n n u l l i s* may do the the same service. It might be said that *p h i l o s o p h i* here represents philosophers in general, of whom Cicero was the first exponent in Augustine's mind for the particular statement he was making (*t a b u l a m q u a n d a m v e r b i s p i n g e r e* etc. p. 231. 10). So also we may answer that *a n o n n u l l i s p r a e d i c a t u r* may equally well represent in general the opinions of those who believed in astrology or divination (*m a t h e m a t i c i*), when Augustine had in mind chiefly this remarkable example given by Cicero.

Other examples of the use of the plural numbers for single authority may be found in DCD IV. 24 in which the word *i n q u i u n t* is twice (p. 176. 15 and 29) used, where apparently only Varro is referred to; and again in DCD IV. 26, where the words *a d o c t i s s i m i s c o n s c r i b u n t u r* refer chiefly to Varro, as we learn from DCD IV. 31 (p. 185. 18).

Livian authority has also been disguised by Augustine in a similar general and indefinite manner. Compare DCD III. 31 where the three plural expressions *L e g i m u s a p u d e o s* (p. 144. 29), *s c r i p s e r u n t* (p. 144. 34) *l i t t e r i s m a n d a v e r u n t* (p. 145. 5) stand principally, if not altogether, for the authority of Livy.

202. 6. *I l l i q u o q u e v e r s u s H o m e r i c i h u i c s e n t e n t i a e s u f f r a g a n t u r q u o s C i c e r o i n L a t i n u m v e r t i t.*

Augustine was apt to prefer a translation when it was at hand to the Greek original. Compare Confess. 1. 14, *N a m e t H o m e r u s p e r i t u s t e x e r e t a l e s f a -*

bellas, et dulcissime vanus est, et mihi tamen amarus erat puero.

The lines given by Augustine do not occur in Cicero's extant works, but are assigned, as by Mueller, to the fragments of the *De Fato*. They evidently occurred in one of his philosophical treatises, as Augustine tells us in the context: *Stoicos dicit vim fati asserentes istos ex Homero versus solere usurpare*, and it is more natural to assign them to the *De Fato* than to the *Acad.*, to which Dombart refers them though with a question mark.

202. 23. Quam (divinationem) sic conatur auferre, ut neget esse scientiam futurorum, eamque omnibus viribus nullam esse omnino contendat vel in homine vel in deo, nullamque rerum praedictionem.

See Cic. *De Div.* 2. passim, *De Fato.* 6. 11, non enim credo nullo percepto aut ceteros artifices versari in suo munere, aut eos qui divinatione utantur futura praedicere, *ibid.* 14. 33, et passim.

203. 33. non enim fieri aliquid potest quod non aliqua efficiens causa praecesserit: si autem certus est ordo causarum, quo fit omne quod fit, fato, inquit, fiunt omnia quae fiunt.

See Cic. *De Fato.* 10. 20, motus ergo sine causa nullus est. Quod si ita est omnia, quae fiunt, causis fiunt antegressis; id si ita est, fato omnia fiunt; efficitur igitur fato fieri quaecumque fiant, *ibid.* 11. 26, 18. 41, 19. 44.

204. 5. quod si concedimus, inquit, omnis humana vita subvertitur, frus-

tra leges dantur, frustra obiurgationes laudes vituperationes exhortationes adhibentur, neque ulla iustitia bonis praemia et malis supplicia constituta sunt.

See De Fato 17. 40, ex quo efficitur ut nec laudationes iustae sint nec vituperationes nec honores nec supplicia.

210. 31. qui non solum caelum et terram, nec solum angelum et hominem, sed nec exigui et contemptibilis animantis viscera nec avis pinnulam, nec herbae flosculum nec arboris folium sine suarum partium convenientia et quadam veluti pace dereliquit: nullo modo est credendus regna hominum eorumque dominationes et servitutes a suae providentiae legibus alienas esse voluisse.

Compare DCD X. 14, where Augustine speaks of Plotinus' theory of providence and its extent usque ad haec terrena et ima pertingere flosculorum atque foliorum puchritudine. So in the passage on which we are commenting Augustine may have been influenced by Plotinus. Loesche (De Augustino Plotinizante in doctrina de Deo. Iena. 1880, p. 61,) actually cites two passages from Plotinus as parallel to the words of Augustine: δεῖ τὴν πρόνοιαν ἐπὶ πάντα φθάνειν καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ μηδενὸς ἡμεληκέναι (Enn. 3. 2. 6) and ὁ τὰ ἐν τῷ παντὶ γινόμενα θεωρῶν θεωρεῖ ἅμα καὶ τὴν πρόνοιαν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ· τέταται δὴ ἐπὶ πάντα καὶ τὰ γινόμενα τὰ δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ ζῶα καὶ πράξεις αὐτῶν καὶ διαθέσεις (Enn. 3. 3. 5).

214. 20. quas (aedes) coniunctissimas constituerunt, Virtutis et Honoris.

See Livy 27. 25. 7 and note p. 169. 5.

220. 4. Scaevolas et Curtios et Decios.

See notes p. 169. 25, 27, 28.

220. 18. servitutem religionis quam *λατρεία* Graeci vocant.

This word *λατρεία* occurs in the N. T. an equal number of times with *δουλεία* (five times): Ioh. 16. 2, Rom. 9. 4, 12. 1, Heb. 9. 1, 9. 6.

223. 14. asylum illud Romuleum.

See note p. 50. 31.

223. 24. filios Brutus potuit et occidere.

See note p. 119. 28.

224. 21. Si alius etiam Romanus princeps, cognomine Torquatus, filium, non quia contra patriam, sed etiam pro patria . . . occidit.

See note p. 38. 13.

224. 29. Furius Camillus . . .

See note p. 73. 21.

225. 9. Mucius . . .

See note p. 169. 25.

225. 20. Si Curtius armatus equo concito in abruptum hiatus terrae se praecipitem dedit.

See note p. 169. 27.

225. 32. Sise occidendos certis verbis quodam modo consecrantes, Decii devoverunt.

See note p. 169. 28.

226. 9. Si Marcus Pulvillus dedicans aedem Iovis Iunonis Minervae falso sibi ab invidis morte filii nuntiata . . . ita centempsit ut eum etiam proici insepultum iuberet.

See Livy 2. 8. 6, Cic. De domo sua 139, Plut. Vitae, Publ. 14.

226. 19. Si M. Regulus, ne crudelissimos hostes iurando falleret, ad eos ab ipsa Roma reversus est, quoniam sicut Romanis eum tenere volentibus respondisse fertur postea quam Afris servierat, dignitatem illic honesti civis habere non posset.

These words bear so striking a resemblance to those of Eutropius that we may be certain Augustine had Eutropius before him. Compare Brev. 2. 24 (ad fin.) (quoted in Literary Sources p. 47.)

227. 2. L. Valerium, qui in suo defunctus est consulatu, usque adeo pauperem ut nummis a populo collatis eius sepultura curaretur.

See Livy 2. 16. 7 P. Valerius anno post (his fourth consulship 2. 16. 2) moritur, gloria ingenti, copiis familiaribus adeo exiguis ut funeri sumptus deesset: de publico est elatus, compare also Val. Max. 4. 4. 1, 4. 1. 1, who gives Publius, not Lucius, as praenomen. It will also be seen from Livy that Augustine has made a second mistake in saying that Valerius died during his consulship. From both these errors we may free Augustine, because it is clear he is here following Eutropius Brev. 1. 11. 4, Quinto anno L. Valerius, Bruti collega et quater consul, fataliter mortuus est, adeo pauper ut collatis a populo nummis sumptum habuerit sepulturae, and in the immediate context he seems to follow Eutropius. See notes p. 227. 5, 227. 11. For Valerius see note p. 121. 5.

227. 5. Quintium Cincinnatum, cum quattuor iugera possideret et ea suis

manibus coleret, ab aratro esse adductum, ut dictator fieret.... victisque hostibus ingentem gloriam consecutum in eadem paupertate mansisse.

See Livy 3. 26 sq., Florus Epit. 1. 5. 12 sed hos praecipue Titus Quintius domuit, ille dictator ab aratro, qui obsessa et paene iam capta Manili consulis castra egregia victoria recuperavit. Medium erat tempus forte sementis cum patricium virum innixum aratro suo lictor in ipso opereprehendit. Inde in aciem profectus, ne quid a rustici operis imitatione cessaret, more pecudum sub iugum misit. Sic expeditione finita redit ad boves rursus triumphalis agricola.

Here too Augustine had probably for one of his authorities Eutropius to whose language his bears a close resemblance. Compare Brev. 1. 17 L. Quintius Cincinnatus dictator est factus qui agrum quattuor iugerum possidens manibus suis colebat; yet not Eutropius alone, for the words of Augustine ab aratro esse adductum have nothing corresponding to them in Eutropius, but resemble Florus dictator ab aratro. Also gloriam consecutum in eadem paupertate mansisse cannot be found in Eutropius, while it would correspond to redit ad boves rursus triumphalis agricola of Florus. Cic. De Finn. 2. 4. 12, ab aratro adduxerunt, Val. Max 4. 4. 7.

227. 11. cum Fabricium didicerit tantis muneribus Pyrrhi, regis Epirotarum, promissa etiam quarta parte regni a Romana civitate non potuisse

divelli ibique in sua paupertate
privatum manere maluisse.

See Livy Epit. 13, Florus Epit. 1. 13. 21, Eutrop. Brev. 2 12, Unum ex legatis Romanorum, Fabricium, sic admiratus cum eum pauperem esse cognovisset, ut quarta parte regni, promissa sollicitare voluerit, ut ad se transiret, contemptusque est a Fabricio. Val. Max. 4. 3. 6, 4. 4. 3, 4. 4. 11, Cic. Paradoxa 14. 48, Tusc. 3. 23. 56.

Eutropius alone seems to mention the quarta parte regni unless it occurred in Livy 13 of which we have only the epitome. That Augustine is here following Eutropius alone is rendered more probable by the fact that on this same page Eutropius seems to be his sole authority about L. Valerium. See note p. 227. 2.

227. 17. ut quidam eorum, qui iam bis consul fuisset, ex illo senatu hominum pauperum pelleretur notatione censoria, quod decem pondo argenti in vasis habere compertus est.

Quidam is P. Cornelius Rufinus; see Livy Epit. 14, Florus Epit. 1. 13. 22, Cic. De Orat. 2. 66. 268. Aul. Gell. N. A. 4. 8. 7, 17. 21. 39. Augustine here has not followed Eutropius, but probably Florus.

229. 28. sed huius vitii summitatem et quasi arcem quandam Nero Caesar primus obtinuit....

See Tac. Ann. 12. 69 to end of bk. 16, Jerome, Chron. of Euseb. BE vol. 8. col. 451 sq. Eutröp. Brev. 7. 14. 3, Parricidia multa commisit fratre uxore sorore (?) matre interfectis. Urbem Romam incendit, ut spectaculi eius imaginem cerneret.

233. 15. Apostatae Julianō . . . quando fretus securitate victoriae . . .

See note p. 183. 1.

233. 23. Termini, de quo superiore libro diximus.

See note p. 174. 30.

233. 33. Bellum piratarum a Pompeio.

See note p. 138. 23.

233. 33. bellum Punicum tertium ab Scipione.

See note p. 126. 11.

234. 2. Bellum quoque fugitivorum gladiatorum.

See note p. 138. 9.

234. 6. Picentes Marsi et Peligni . . . in libertatem caput erigere temptaverunt.

See note p. 138. 7.

234. 11. duo consules perierunt.

See Eutrop. Brev. 5. 3. 2, Livy Epit. 73, cum P. Rutilius consul parum prospere adversus Marsos pugnasset et in proelio cecidisset; Epit. 75, L. Porcius consul rebus prospere gestis fuscisque aliquotiens Marsis, dum castra eorum expugnat cecidit.

234. 13. quintus ei annus finem dedit.

See Eutrop. Brev. 5. 3. 3, quinto demum anno finem accepit. Augustine has here followed Eutropius in an error shown by Eutropius' own narrative. For, though Eutropius says quinto demum anno finem accepit, he tells us that the social war began sexcentesimo quinquagesimo nono anno ab urbe condita (5. 3. 1.) and that it was ended per L.

Cornelium Sullam (5. 3. 3 and 5. 4) and Sulla, according to Eutropius' own narrative, was consul with Marius that year *sexcentesimo sexagesimo secundo*, so that including both the year of its commencement (659 A. U. C.) and the year of its completion (662 A. U. C.) we get only four years, not five as Eutropius and Augustine both give.

234. 13. Sed bellum Punicum secundum cum maximis detrimentis et calamitate rei publicae per annos decem et octo Romanas vires extenuavit et paene consumpsit, duobus proeliis ferme septuaginta Romanorum milia ceciderunt.

See note p. 126. 11. Livy 30. 44. 2, *finitum est septimo decimo anno*; Eutrop. Brev. 3. 23. 4, *finem accepit secundum Punicum bellum post annum nonum decimum quam coeperat*; Florus Epit. 1. 22. 1, *nec enim amplius decem et octo annos habet*, yet again, 1. 40. 2, he says *quattuordecim* (or *tredecim*) *anni Hannibali suffecerint*. Augustine here seems to follow the first statement of Florus, perhaps Livy also by including the year of hostilities about Saguntum before a formal declaration of war. The two battles referred to are the *nobilis ad Trasymenum pugna* and *pugna Cannensis*, in the former of which, according to Livy 22. 7. 2, *quindecim milia Romanorum in acie caesa*, in the latter (22. 49. 15) *quadraginta quinque milia quingenti pedites, duo milia septingenti equites et tanta prope civium sociorumque pars caesi dicuntur*. . . . Florus does not state the losses at Trasymenus. Of Cannae he says (1. 22. 15), *sexaginta milium caede parta nobilitas*. Eutropius does not mention the *lacus Trasymenus*, but tells of

the death of Flaminius which occurred in that battle. Compare Brev. 3. 9. 2: *Inde ad Tusciam veniens Hannibal Flaminio consuli occurrit. Ipsum Flaminium interemit; Romanorum XXV. milia caesa sunt.* He gives the losses at Cannae (3. 10. 4), *Periit enim in eo consul Aemilius Paulus, consulares aut praetorii XX, senatores capti aut occisi XXX, nobiles viri CCC, militum XL milia equitum III milia et quingenti.* These combined losses amount to nearly 69,000, which may be expressed in Augustine's *ferme septuaginta milia*.

Augustine would thus seem to have followed Florus' first statement for the number of years during which the second Punic war lasted, and Eutropius' record for the losses sustained by the Romans. Perhaps in both cases he intended to follow Eutropius, but the former statement may have been an unconscious departure from him.

234. 17. *Bellum Punicum primum per viginti et tres annos peractum est.*

See note p. 126. 11. In Livy Epit. 16-19 there is no definite statement of the length of the first Punic war; such a statement probably occurred in Livy's own work on that war, not now extant. Neither does Florus (Epit. 1. 18) make any such statement. Compare Eutrop. Brev. 2. 27. 1, *anno belli Punici vicesimo et tertio Catulo bellum contra Afros commissum est*, which was the last year of the war, and this is evidently Augustine's authority.

234. 18. *Bellum Mithridaticum quadraginta.*

In Livy Epit. 77-102 there is no exact statement as to the length of this war. Livy may have given the number of years in this lost part of his works. Compare Florus Epit. 1. 40. 2, *ille (Mithridates) per quadraginta annos*

restitit'; Eutrop. Brev. 6. 12. 3, contra Romanos bellum habuit annis quadraginta, Iustinus (Trogii Pompeii, Hist. Phil. Epit. 37. 1. 7) gives 46 years. Eutropius was Augustine's authority.

234. 22. bellum Samniticum annis tractum est ferme quinquaginta: in quo bello ita Romani victi sunt ut sub iugum etiam mitterentur.

See Florus Epit. 1. 11. 8, hos tamen quinquaginta annis per Fabios ac Papirios patres eorumque liberos ita subegit nec facile appareat materia quattuor et viginti triumphorum. Eutrop. Brev. 2. 9. 3, Tum bellum cum Samnitibus per annos quadraginta novem actum sustulerunt. Compare Livy 10. 31. 10 Supersunt etiam nunc Samnitium bella, quae continua per quartum iam volumen annumque sextum et quadragesimum a M. Valerio, A. Cornelio consulibus qui primi Samnio arma intulerunt, agimus, and Epit. 14 (ad fin.) res praeterea contra Lucanos et Bruttios et Samnites feliciter gestas et Pyrrhi regis mortem continet. Also Livy 23. 5. 8 coeptumque propter vos cum Samnitibus bellum per centum prope annos variante fortuna eventum tulerimus. 23. 42. 6, per annos centum cum populo Romano bellum gessimus. 31. 31. 10 hi homines cum pro iis bellum adversus Samnites per annos prope septuaginta cum magnis nostris cladibus gessimus. Augustine in his ferme quinquaginta seems to have followed the version of Eutropius. Orosius, Adv. pag. 3. 22. 10 also gives 49 years.

235. 14. Cum Radagaisus, rex Gothorum

We have not to seek any literary source here, as this event occurred in A.D. 406, only 9 years before the date at which Augustine wrote this book. He says above (line 9) *nostra memoria recentissimo tempore* and below (line 30) *nobis apud Karthaginem dicebatur*. Compare Orosius, Adv. pag. 7. 37. 4 sq.

238. 2. Constantinum imperatorem. . . .

See Jerome, Chron. of Euseb. BE vol. 8, col. 493 sq., Eutrop. Brev. 10. 2. sq., Orosius, Adv. pag. 7. 25. 16 sq. It is impossible to say who was Augustine's authority.

238. 14. Iovianum multo citius quam Iulianum abstulit.

Here too we cannot assign the authority. See Eutrop. Brev. 10. 16. 2, *hostili manu interfectus est (Iulianus) VI Kal. Iul., imperii anno septimo, aetatis altero et tricesimo anno*. Jerome, appendix to Chron. of Euseb. BE vol. 8, col. 503 sq. *Iulianus anno uno, mensibus octo, Iovianus mensibus octo*.

Compare Jerome, Ep. 60. 15 (BE vol. 22. 599) *Iulianus proditor animae suae, et Christiani iugulator exercitus, Christum sensit in Media quem primum in Gallia denegerat; dumque Romanos propagare vult fines, perdidit propagatos. Iovianus gustatis tantum regalibus bonis, foetore prunarum suffocatus interiit, ostendens omnibus quid sit humana potentia*.

238. 15. Gratianum ferro tyrannico permisit interimi.

Gratian, son of Valentinian, was born in 359, came to the throne in 375, and was assassinated in 383. Compare Ambrose, *Enarr. in Ps. 61. 17* (BE vol. 14, col. 1230) *Recordamus aliquem (Gratianum) proxime ab omnibus appetitum, a suis destitutum ac proditum: qui dudum in suggestu locatus imperii, subito egens omnium ab ipsis quorum haereditarium fuerat sortitus obsequium, coepit urgeri, ingruuntibus in exitem, inferentibus mortem, nullo auxiliatore, nullo iam socio sui, nullo comite, also ibid. 23.*

238. 20. a Theodosio vindicatus est quem regni participem fecerat, cum parvulum haberet fratrem, avidior fidae societatis quam nimiae potestatis.

Augustine is here treating of almost contemporary history, for which it is hardly necessary to seek written sources. Compare p. 239. 16 *Milites nobis qui aderant rettulerunt.* The Theodosius to whom Augustine here refers is Theodosius the Great, a Spaniard, born 346 and died 395.

238. 26. post eius mortem pulsum ab eius interfectore Maximo Valentinianum eius parvulum fratrem.... excepit.

See preceding note.

239. 5. sed ad Johannem in Aegypti eremo constitutum, quem Dei servum prophetandi spiritu praeditum fama crebrescente didicerat.

Evidently the same as Johannes Aegyptius monachus qui ob vitae puritatem pro-

phetiae gratiam a Domino meruit of Prosper, Chron. More details are given by Augustine, as in *De cura pro mortuis gerenda*, 16. 21. A biography of him is found in Rufinus, *Historia monachorum*, chapter 1 (BE, vol. 21, col. 391-405), *evidenter namque ei Dominus prophetiae gratiam contulit: ita ut non tantum civibus et provincialibus suis futura praediceret, sed et Imperatori Theodosio, vel quos belli exitus habiturus esset, vel quibus modis victoriam caperet de tyrannis, sed et quod irruptiones passurus esset gentium barbararum, saepe praedixit.*

239. 12. *aliu[m] tyrannu[m] Eugeniu[m], qui in illius imperatoris locu[m] non legitime fuerat subrogatus accepto rursus prophetico responso fide certus oppressit.*

Compare Rufinus, *Historia monachorum* (ad fin.): *hoc tamen scire vos volo, quod hodierna die victoriae religiosi principis Theodosii Alexandriae nuntiatae sunt de Eugenio tyranno. Eugenius was a usurper in the reign of Theodosius and made a vain attempt to re-establish pagan worship. Compare Zosimus, Hist. 4. 54, 55, 58; Theodoret, Hist. Eccl. 5. 24.*

240. 17. *quando in Thessalonicensium gravissimu[m] scelus, cui iam episcopis intercedentibus promiserat indulgentiam*

Compare Prosper, p. 49, *Immane Thessalonicae gestu[m] facinus extincti populi egregio poenitentiae exemplo Imperator religiosus eluit.*

241. 26. quod ait Tullius de quodam
qui peccandi licentia felix appellaba-
tur: 'O miserum, cui peccare licebat!'.
Mueller, in his edition of Cicero Philosophica, vol. 3, p.
407, gives this as one of the fragmenta librorum incertorum, so
also Baiter and Kayser, vol. II, p. 140.

BOOK VI.

247. 5. Ipse Tullius huic tale testimonium perhibet ut in libris Academicis dicat. . . .

Mueller, in his edition of Cicero Philosophica, vol. 1, p. 90, is not certain from which book this fragment is taken.

248. 24.-249. 30. The complete analysis of Varro's *Antiquitates*, found in this chapter, has been preserved for us by Augustine alone.

There is no reason why we should not regard this chapter (3) as taken in substance from Varro and largely in Varro's own words. This is the view of Francken (p. 32 sq.): *Haec praetermissa sunt in editione Bipontina; nihil tamen impedit quo minus credamus, huiusmodi distributionem Augustini verbis expressam Varronem immortalis suo operi praemisisse*, and Agahd, pp. 15. 142.

Here I transcribe from Dr. West's MS. his graphic analysis:

AUGUSTINE'S ANALYSIS OF VARRO'S

Antiquitatum rerum humanarum et divinarum l. XLI.

[*De Civitate Dei* VI. 3.]

I. *ANTIQUITATES RERUM HUMANARUM*, I-XXV.

I. Introductory, I.

II. Detailed account in four groups of six books each, II-XXV.

1. Qui agant—*De hominibus*, II-VII. Descriptive of mankind.
2. Ubi agant—*De locis*, VIII-XIII. Geography.
3. Quando agant—*De temporibus*, XIV-XIX. Chronology.
4. Quid agant—*De rebus*, XX-XXV. History.

II. ANTIQUITATES RERUM DIVINARUM, XXVI-XLI.

RD 1. I. Introductory, XXVI.

II. Detailed account in five groups of three books each, XXVII-XLI.

1. Qui agant—De hominibus [sacris], XXVII-XXIX. Sacred men.

RD 2. a. De Pontificibus, XXVII.

RD 3. b. De Auguribus, XXVIII.

RD 4. c. De Decemviris sacrorum, XXIX.

2. Ubi agant—De locis [sacris], XXX-XXXII. Sacred places.

RD 5. a. De Sacellis, XXX.

RD 6. b. De Sacris Aedibus, XXXI.

RD 7. c. De Locis Religiosis, XXXII.

3. Quando agant—De temporibus [sacris], XXXIII-XXXV. Sacred times.

RD 8. a. De Feriis, XXXIII.

RD 9. b. De Ludis Circensibus, XXXIV.

RD 10. c. De [Ludis] Scaenicis, XXXV.

4. Quid agant—De [rebus] sacris, XXXVI-XXXVIII. Sacred acts.

RD 11. a. Consecrationes, XXXVI.

RD 12. b. Sacra privata, XXXVII.

RD 13. c. Sacra publica, XXXVIII.

5. Quibus agant — De Diis, XXXIX-XLI. Super-human sacred beings.

RD 14. a. Dii certi, XXXIX.

RD 15. b. Dii incerti, XL.

RD 16. c. Dii praecipui et selecti, XLI.

261. 27. sicut idem opinatur Varro, quod pertineat Saturnus ad semina.

Compare *Lingua Latina* (Spengel's edition) 5. 64, ab satu est dictus Saturnus.

292. 29. The gods and goddesses spoken of by Augustine in this chapter (9) were treated of in Varro's RD. Au-

gustine gives an idea of the number of deities on whom Varro wrote, p. 266. 9. ipse Varro commemorare et enumerare deos coepit a conceptione hominis . . . eamque seriem perduxit usque ad decrepiti hominis mortem . . . deinde coepit deos alios ostendere qui pertinerent non ad ipsum hominem, sed ad ea quae sunt hominis

267. 4. Sq. In chapters 10 and 11 Augustine informs us that he is quoting Seneca in eo libro quem contra superstitiones condidit—a work which has not come down to our day.

270. 30. cum adversus Manichaeos ageremus.

That is in the works mentioned in the note on p. 35. 4. His opposition to Manichaeism began with his conversion in 386; even before that time he had noticed some weaknesses in that system, as he tells us in his Confessions.

BOOK VII.

273. 18. quod facetius ait Tertul-
 lianus fortasse quam verius: Si dii
 eliguntur ut bulbi, utique ceteri re-
 probi iudicantur.

The exact quotation from the *Ad. Natt.* 2. 9 is, accord-
 ing to Oehler's edition, Si enim dei ut bulbi
 seliguntur, qui non seliguntur im-
 probi pronuntiantur. Dombart gives this refer-
 ence.

306. 23. Propter vernalem quippe
 faciem terrae quae ceteris est tem-
 poribus pulchrior, Porphyrius, philo-
 sophus nobilis, Attin flores signifi-
 care perhibuit, et ideo abscisum
 quia flos decidit ante fructum.

This is the first mention of Porphyry in the DCD. Au-
 gustine (using a Latin version) quotes often from him, but
 most of the works from which he has quoted are now no
 longer extant. In DCD X. 29 (p. 449. 25) Augustine says
 in his ipsis libris ex quibus multa
 posui quos de regressu animae scrip-
 sit. In DCD X. 11 (p. 418. 18) Melius sapuit
 iste Porphyrius cum ad Anebontem
 scripsit Aegyptium. In the passage on which
 we are commenting Augustine may have got his information
 from the *De Regressu animae*, but compare the words of Por-
 phry given by Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 3. 11. Ἄττις δὲ καὶ
 Ἀδωνις τῇ τῶν καρπῶν εἰσὶν ἀναλογία προσήκοντες. Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Ἄττις τῶν
 κατὰ τὸ ἔαρ προφαινομένων ἀνθέων καὶ πρὶν τελεσιογονῆσαι διαρρεόντων,
 ὁθεν καὶ τὴν τῶν αἰδοίων ἀποκοπὴν αὐτῷ προσανέθεσαν, μὴ φθασάντων
 ἐλθεῖν τῶν καρπῶν εἰς τὴν σπερματικὴν τελείωσιν. This may be the

passage Augustine had in mind in writing the above. Eusebius seems to be quoting there from some work dealing with images; and such a work Stobaeus (Ecl. Phys. 1. 25) mentions under the title *περὶ ἀγαλμάτων*. If these are the words to which Augustine refers they are taken not from the *περὶ ἀνόδου ψυχῆς* (De Regressu animae), but from this *περὶ ἀγαλμάτων*, though Augustine does not mention the latter as he does the former. Compare Arnobius, Adv. nationes, 5. 5. sq.

309. 7. totam de hoc Euhemerus pandit historiam quam Ennius in Latinum vertit eloquium.

See Cic. N. D. 1. 42. 119, quae ratio maxime tractata ab Euhemero est, quem noster et interpretatus et secutus praeter ceteros Ennius. Lact. Div. Inst. 1. 11. 33, antiquus auctor Euhemerus res gestas Iovis et ceterorum qui dii putantur collegit historiamque contexuit ex titulis et inscriptionibus. . . . Hanc historiam et interpretatus est Ennius et secutus. Arnob. Adv. Natt. 4. 29. See Literary Sources of Augustine, DCD I-X, p. 10.

318. 27. istos Varronis ad Caesarem pontificem scriptos.

Compare Lact. Div. Inst. 1. 6. 7, in libris rerum divinarum quos ad C. Caesarem pontificem maximum scripsit.

321. 31. Italicum genus auctorem habuit Pythagoram Samnium, a quo etiam ferunt ipsum philosophiae nomen exortum, iste interrogatus quid profiteretur philosophum se esse respondit.

The source is uncertain, probably the Hortensius of Cicero. See Tusc. 5. 3. 8. sq., De Sen. 21. 78., Lact. Div. Inst.

3. 2. 6, Pythagoras, qui hoc primus nomen invenit, Itaque cum ab eo quaereretur quemnam se profiteretur, respondit philosophum, id est quaesitorem sapientiae. Id. 3. 14. 5. See Literary Sources, p. 23.

322. 3. Ionici vero generis princeps fuit Thales Milesius, unus illorum septem qui sunt appellati sapientes.

Augustine's source here was probably the lost Hortensius of Cicero. Compare Lact. Div. Inst. 3. 16. 12, Hortensius, ex eo posse intellegi philosophiam non esse sapientiam quod principium et origo eius appareat. Quando, inquit, philosophi esse coeperunt? Thales ut opinor primus.

322. 11. Aquam tamen putavit rerum esse principium et hinc omnia elementa mundi ipsumque mundum et quae in eo gignuntur existere.

See Cic. Acad. prior. 2. 37. 118, Thales ex aqua dixit constare omnia, N. D. 1. 10. 25, Lact. Div. Inst. 1. 5. 16, ibid. 2. 9. 18.

322. 16. Anaximander eius auditor ex suis propriis principiis quasque res nasci putavit. Quae rerum principia singularum esse credidit infinita, et innumerabiles mundos gignere et quaecunque in eis oriuntur; eosque mundos modo dissolvi modo iterum gigni existimavit.

See Cic. N. D. 1. 10. 25, Anaximandri autem opinio est nativos esse deos longis intervallis orientis occidentisque, eosque innumerabiles esse mundos.

Acad. prior. 2. 37. 118, is enim infinitatem naturae dixit esse, e qua omnia gignerentur.

322. 24. Iste Anaximenen discipulum et successorem reliquit, qui omnes rerum causas aeri infinito dedit, nec deos negavit aut tacuit: non tamen ab ipsis aerem factum, sed ipsos ex aere ortos credidit.

See Cic. Acad. prior. 2. 37. 118, post eius auditor Anaximenes infinitum aera, sed ea quae ex eo orerentur definita; gigni autem terram aquam ignem, tum ex his omnia. N. D. I. 10. 26, Lact. Div. Inst. I. 5. 19.

322. 27. Anaxagoras vero eius auditor harum rerum omnium, quas videmus, effectorem divinum animum sensit et dixit ex infinita materia, quae constaret similibus inter se particulis rerum omnium quibus suis et propriis singula fieri, sed animo faciente divino.

See Cic. Acad. 2. 37. 118, Anaxagoras materiam infinitam, sed ex ea particulas, similes inter se minutas; eas primum confusas, postea in ordinem adductas mente divina. N. D. I. 11. 26.

322. 32. Diogenes quoque Anaximenis alter auditor, aerem quidem dixit rerum esse materiam, de qua omnia fierent, sed eum esse compotem divinae rationis sine qua nihil ex eo fieri posset.

See Cic. N. D. I. 12. 29, aer quo Diogenes Apolloniates utitur deo quem sensum habere potest aut quam formam dei?

323. 2. Anaxagorae successit auditor eius Archelaus. Etiam ipse de particulis inter se similibus, quibus singula quaeque fierent, ita putavit constare omnia ut inesse etiam mentem diceret.

This Archelaus is mentioned only once in the extant writings of Cicero, Tusc. 5. 4. 10. Very little is known either of his life or of his teachings. No doubt he was discussed in the schools in the days of Augustine along with the other philosophers.

323. 7. Socrates huius discipulus fuisse perhibetur.

See Cic. Tusc 5. 4. 10 ad Socratem qui Archelaum, Anaxagorae discipulum, audierat.

323. 11. Socrates ergo primus universam philosophiam ad corrigendos componendosque mores flexisse memoratur, cum ante illum omnes magis physicis, id est, naturalibus, rebus perscrutandis operam maximam inpendere.

See Cic. Acad. prior. 1. 4. 15, Socrates mihi videtur primus a rebus occultis et ab ipsa natura involutis, in quibus omnes ante eum philosophi occupati fuerunt, advocavisse philosophiam et ad vitam communem adduxisse, ut de virtutibus et vitiis omninoque de bonis rebus et malis quaereret; Tusc. 3. 4. 8, 5. 4. 8, 5. 4. 10, Socrates autem primus philosophiam devocavit e coelo et coegit de vita et moribus rebusque bonis et malis quaerere. De Finn. 5. 29. 88. Lact. Div. Inst. 3. 13. 6, 3. 20. 2, 3. 21. 1.

324. 3. vel confessa ignorantia sua vel dissimulata scientia lepore mirabili disserendi et acutissima urbanitate agitasse atque versasse.

Cicero seems to be the source. See Acad. 2. 5. 15. ita cum aliud diceret atque sentiret, libenter uti solitus est ea dissimulatione, quam Graeci *εἰρωνείαν* vocant; also ibid. 2. 23. 74, De Div. 2. 72. 150, De Off. 1. 30. 108, De Orat. 2. 67. 270, Brut. 292, De Inv. 1. 31. 53.

324. 6. Sed eum postea illa ipsa, quae publice damnaverat, Atheniensium civitas publice luxit, in duos accusatores eius usque adeo populi indignatione conversa, ut unus eorum oppressus vi multitudinis interiret, exilio autem voluntario atque perpetuo poenam similem alter evaderet.

It is difficult to discover Augustine's literary source here. We know of no extant account from which Augustine might have taken this. Compare Diodorus 14 37 (ad fin.): *ἀδίκον δὲ τῆς κατηγορίας γεγενημένης ὁ δῆμος μετεμελήθη τηλικούτον ἄνδρα θεωρῶν ἀνερρημένον· διόπερ τοὺς κατηγορήσαντας δι' ὀργῆς εἶχε καὶ τέλος ἀκρίτους ἀπέκτεινεν*, which account differs considerably from that given by Augustine. Compare also Diog. Laert. 2. 43: *Ἀθηναῖοι δ' εὐθὺς μετέγνωσαν ὥστε κλεῖσαι καὶ παλαίστρας καὶ γυμνάσια καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐφυγάδευσαν, Μελίτου δὲ θάνατον κατέγνωσαν* which still differs from Augustine. It is probable that Cicero in one of his now lost works related this story, and that Augustine got it from him. Cicero probably treated of Socrates and and the Socratic philosophy in the Hortensius, where it would be natural for him to record the death of Socrates.

324 22. quidam summum bonum esse dicerent voluptatem, sicut Aristippus.

See Cic. Acad. 2. 42. 131, alii voluptatem finem esse voluerunt quorum princeps Aristippus, qui Socratem audierat. Id. De Finn. 1. 8. 26, 2. 6. 18, 2. 7. 20, 5. 7. 20, Lact. Div. Inst. 3. 7. 7, 3. 8. 6.

324. 24. quidam virtutem, sicut Antisthenes.

See Tusc. 5. 9. 26. No doubt Cicero was the literary source—probably in the Hortensius.

325. 6. in Aegypto didicit (Plato) quaecunque magna illic habebantur atque docebantur.

See Cic. De Finn. 5. 29. 87, Cur Plato Aegyptum peragravit ut a sacerdotibus barbaris numeros et coelestia acciperet? Apul. De dog. Plat. 1. 3 (Hildebrand's edition), et astrologiam adusque Aegyptum ivit petatum, ut inde prophetarum ritus etiam addisceret. Lact. Div. Inst. 4. 2. 4.

325. 7. et inde in eas Italiae partes veniens, ubi Pythagoreorum fama celebrabatur. . . .

See Cic. De Finn. 5. 29. 87, cur post Tarentum ad Archytam? cur ad reliquos Pythagoreos? Tusc. 1. 17. 39, Platonem ferunt ut Pythagoreos cognosceret in Italiam venisse et didicisse Pythagorea omnia. Apul. De dog. Plat. 1. 3 (Hildebrand's edition): Et ad Italiam iterum venit et Pythagoreos Eurytatum(?) Tarentinum et seniores Archytam sectatus. Augustine may here be following either Cicero or Apuleius.

325. 15. Itaque cum studium sapientiae in actione et contemplatione versetur, unde una pars eius activa, altera contemplativa dici potest.

This two-fold division of sapientia Augustine probably found in Cicero's Hortensius. Compare De Trin. 14. 19. 26. Hanc contemplativam sapientiam. . . . Cicero commendans in fine dialogi Hortensii.

325. 22. Proinde Plato utrumque iungendo philosophiam perfecisse laudatur, quam in tres partes distribuit: unam moralem quae maxime in actione versatur; alteram naturalem quae contemplationi deputata est; tertiam rationalem, qua verum determinatur a falso.

It is impossible in the extant works of Plato to find this three-fold stoic division into ethics, physics and logic. Such a division was developed by some later interpreters of or commentators on Plato such as we find in Cic. Acad. 1. 5. 19, Fuit ergo iam accepta a Platone ratio triplex, una de vita et moribus, altera de natura et rebus occultis, tertia de disserendo et quid verum quid falsum quid rectum in oratione parumve quid consentiens quid repugnans esset iudicando. This may have been the source from which Augustine derived the above statement, but it is more likely that this three-fold division was an established one in the philosophy of Plato as taught in the schools of Augustine's day. Lactantius Div. Inst. 3. 4. 12, mentions duo philosophiae genera, but he also gives the three divisions of philosophy, viz: moralis and physica (Div. Inst. 3. 7. 1) the former of which seems to correspond to ethica (Inst. Epit. 28. 13), and third λογική superest pars illa philosophiae tertia quam vocant λογικήν, in qua tota dialectica et omnis loquendi ratio continetur (Div. Inst. 3. 13. 4, Inst. Epit. 30. 5).

This three-fold division of Lactantius into *moralis* or *ethica*, *physica* and *λογικῇ* corresponds to Augustine's *moralem*, *naturalem* and *rationalem*. We should note here also the passage in Apuleius, *De dog. Platonis*, which (in Hildebrand's edition book 1, chapter 3) reads *ut primus tripartitam philosophiam copularet sibi que invicem necessarias partes neque pugnare inter se tantummodo sed etiam mutuis adiuvere auxiliis ostenderet. Nam quamvis de diversis officinis haec ei essent philosophiae membra suscepta, naturalis a Pythagoreis, dialectica atque moralis ab ipso Socratis fonte, unum tamen ex omnibus et quasi proprii partus corpus effecit.*

327. 25. Alexander Macedo scribit ad matrem sibi a magno antistite sacrorum Aegyptiorum quodam Leone patefacta. . . . Timens enim et ille quasi revelata mysteria petens admonet Alexandrum ut, cum ea matri conscripta insinuaverit, flammis iubeat concremari.

There are several notices of letters of Alexander the Great to his mother, Olympias, but we cannot decide which one of these, if any, is the one referred to here by Augustine. I examine the evidence somewhat in detail, because this is professedly one of Augustine's sources.

Compare DCD VIII. 27, *sicut Leone sacerdote prodente ad Olympiadem matrem scribit Alexander. DCD XII. 11, illa epistula Alexandri Magni ad Olympiadem matrem suam quam scripsit narrationem cuiusdam Aegyptii sacerdotis insinuans, quam protulit ex litteris*

quae sacrae apud illos haberentur, continet etiam regna quae Graeca quoque novit historia. Such is the information which Augustine gives us in reference to this epistle of Alexander the Great to his mother. Plutarch, Vitae. Alex. 27, says: αὐτὸς δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα φησὶ γεγόνέναι τινὰς αὐτῷ μαντείας ἀπορρήτους ἃς αὐτὸς ἐπανελθὼν φράσει πρὸς μόνην ἐκείνην. That this epistle is the one to which Augustine refers we cannot say. Zusetikos (De Alexandri Olympiadisque epistularum fontibus et reliquiis. Berlin 1894. p. 44) thinks that it is not. Arrian 6. 1. 4 speaks of a letter of Alexander to his mother: καὶ δὴ καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα γράφοντα ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τῆς γῆς ἅλλα τε γράψαι καὶ ὅτι δοκοίη αὐτῷ ἐξευρηκέναι τοῦ Νείλου τὰς πηγὰς . . . which cannot be the one referred to by Augustine. Aulus Gellius, 13. 4. 1 says In plerisque monumentis rerum ab Alexandro gestarum et paulo ante in libro M. Varonis qui inscriptus est Orestes vel de insania, Olympiadem Philippi uxorem festivissime rescripsisse legimus Alexandro filio. Nam cum is ad matrem ita scripsisset: Rex Alexander Iovis Hammonis filius Olympiadi matri salutem dicit, Olympias ei rescripsit . . . Tertullian seems to refer to the same letter as Augustine (De Pallio 3): quod Aegyptii narrant et Alexander digerit et mater legit de tempestate Osiridis qua ad illum ex Libya Ammon facit ovium dives. See also id. De Corona 7. Compare also Cyprian, De idolorum vanitate 2 (works BE vol. 2. 588) Hoc ita Alexander Magnus insigni volumine ad matrem suam scribit metu suae potestatis proditum sibi de diis hominibus a sacerdote secretum; Minucius Felix, Octavius, 21.

That this epistle was well-known we gather from the words of Augustine DCD XII. 11 *illa epistola* (p. 527. 11) and *quae maxime innotuit* (p. 528. 8). Augustine seems to have been familiar with the contents of this letter.

He speaks of the same Leon De Consensu Evang. 1. 23. 32: Numquid et Leon ille sacerdos Aegyptius, poeta vel academicus fuit, qui Macedoni Alexandro diversam quidem a Graecorum opinione istorum deorum originem verumtamen ita prodit ut eos homines fuisse declaret? Arnobius (Adv. nationes 4. 29) speaks of him as Pellaeo Leonte and as one of those who could prove *omnis istos, nobis quos inducitis atque appellatis deos, homines fuisse*—which may have been the same work as that referred to above by Augustine.

331. 26. *hinc asseverantes animum concipere notiones quas appellant ἐννοίας.*

See Cic. Tusc. 1. 24. 57, *notiones quas ἐννοίας vocant*. De Finn. 3. 6. 21, Acad. 2. 7. 22, 2. 10. 30, *ex quibus efficiuntur notitiae rerum quas Graeci τὸ ἐννοίας τὸ προλήψεις vocant*.

332 25. *qui dicuntur addidisse tertium genus bonorum quod appellatur extrinsecus.*

See Cic. Tusc. 5. 38. 85: *tria genera bonorum, maxima animi, secunda corporis, externa tertia, in which externa is equivalent to extrinsecus; see also De Finn. 3. 13. 43, and Apuleius De dog. Plat. 2. 2* (Hildebrand's edition) *where after the bonum primum and secundum a third is given accidens autem bonum est et putatur quod corpori rebusque venientibus extrinsecus copulatur.*

333. 15. Nunc satis sit commemorare Platonem determinasse finem boni esse secundum virtutem vivere et ei soli evenire posse, qui notitiam Dei habeat et imitationem nec esse aliam ob causam beatum; ideoque non dubitat hoc esse philosophari amare Deum.

333. 29. Ipsum autem verum ac summum bonum Plato dicit Deum.

Augustine of course did not read Plato in the original, and he has not in mind here any particular passages of that author. What Augustine gives above is found in substance in the writings of Plato, but is not explicitly stated. No doubt he is giving rather a Neo-platonist inference from Platonism.

337. 1. supputata temporum ratio quae chronica historia continetur Platonem indicat a tempore, quo prophetavit Hieremias, centum ferme annos postea natum fuisse, qui cum octoginta et unum vixisset ab anno mortis eius usque ad id tempus quo Ptolomaeus rex Aegypti scripturas propheticas gentis Hebraeorum de Iudaea poposcit et per septuaginta viros Hebraeos. . . . interpretandas habendasque curavit anni reperiuntur ferme sexaginta.

Jerome Chron. of Euseb. (BE vol. 8, col. 367) Hieremias prophettare orsus in the year 1386 of Abraham or in the third year of the thirty-seventh Olympiad; and in the year of Abraham 1592, or in first year of the eighty-ninth Olympiad Plato nascitur Athenis which statements make a much longer period than the centum ferme annos of Augustine. Plato moritur in the year of Abraham 1672, or first of the one

hundred and ninth Olympiad; and Ptolomaeus Philadelphus divinas scripturas in Graecam vocem ex Hebraea lingua per LXX interpretes transferri curavit in the year of Abraham 1736, or first year of the one hundred and twenty-fifth Olympiad.

Neither of these statements agrees with those of Augustine, as the first of Jerome (1592-1386) gives 206 years for centum ferme annos of Augustine, and the second 64 (1736-1672) for ferme sexaginta. It is impossible to say on what authority Augustine has based his calculations. Another place where he has recorded the correction here given on the statement cum quando perrexit in Aegyptum, Hieremiam audisse vel scripturas propheticas in eadem peregrinatione legisse is found in *Retract.* 2. 4. 2: Et in eo quod dixi, De temporum historia sanctum Ambrosium solvisse quaestionem, tamquam coaetanei fuerint Plato et Hieremias, me fefellit memoria.

338. 12. ea quae mutabilia facta sunt non sint, vehementer hoc Plato tenuit et diligentissime commendavit.

Here we have an inference from Plato rather than a reference to any specific statement. Augustine no doubt made this statement from his knowledge of Neo-Platonism. It is found implicitly in Plato. Compare *Philebus* 22 and 60 B-C.

339. 5. cum Aristoteles Platonis discipulus sectam Peripateticam condidisset, quod deambulans disputare consueverat.

See *Cic. Acad.* 1. 4. 17: Peripatetici dicti sunt quia disputabant inambulantes in Lyceo.

339. 10. post mortem vero Platonis Speusippus, sororis eius filius et Xenocrates

See Cic. Acad. 1. 4. 17, 1. 9. 34. De Orat. 3. 18. 67.

339. 30. Sed habemus sententiam Platonis dicentis omnes deos bonos esse nec esse omnino ullum deorum malum.

Augustine here is not referring to any specific passage in Plato, but is giving an inference from his teachings. What he gives as the *sententiam Platonis* is not expressly stated in Plato, but is implied—compare Theaetetus 176C, and Republic X 378–380 especially 379 A–B. See note p. 167. 11.

340. 11. Quid enim de ludis scaenicis Plato senserit, notum est cum poetas ipsos censet civitate pellendos.

See note p. 69. 10.

340. 19. poscentes turpia etiam maligna gesserunt, Tito Latinio auferentes filium

See note p. 178. 17.

341. 10. Omnium, inquiunt, animalium, in quibus est anima rationalis, tripartita divisio est in deos homines daemones.

This three-fold division is assumed in Plato and Apuleius. Compare Plato, Symposium 202 καὶ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον μεταξύ ἐστι θεοῦ τε καὶ θνητοῦ. De Legg, 8. 848 D, *ibid.* 10. 906 A. ξύμμαχοι δὲ ἡμῖν θεοί τε ἅμα καὶ δαίμονες, ἡμεῖς δ' αὖ κτήματα θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων. But Augustine had in mind Apuleius when he wrote the above words (*quae licet apud alios quoque reperiantur, Apuleius tamen Platonius Madaurensis de hac resola unum scripsit librum. l. 30*). Apuleius in the *De deo Socratis* begins (Hildebrand's edition,

chap. 1. vol. 2. p. 111.) Plato omnem naturam rerum quod eius ad animalia praecipue pertineat, trifariam divisit. He then begins with the gods whom he first discusses (to chap. 3 p. 120 in Hildebrand's edition); then he passes on to discuss men (tandemque orationem de caelo in terram devocabo in qua praecipuum animal homines sumus), and in chap. 6 he takes up demons, Ceterum sunt quaedam divinae mediae potestates inter summum aethera et infimas terras.... hos Graeci nomine δαίμονας nuncupant.

341. 33. ex quo genere numinum Socrates habebat adiunctum et amicitia quadam conciliatum, a quo perhibetur solitus admoneri ut desisteret ab agendo, quando id quod agere volebat, non prospere fuerat eventurum.

Compare Apul. De deo Socratis, chap. 19 (Hildebrand's edition, vol. 2, p. 154): Quod autem incepta Socrati quaequam daemon ille ferme prohibitum ibat, nunquam adhortatum quodammodo ratio praedicta est. Enim Socrates, utpote vir apprime perfectus ex sese, ad omnia congruentia sibi officia promptus nullo adhortatore umquam indigebat, at vero prohibitor nonnunquam, si quibus forte conatibus eius periculum suberat, ut monitus praecaveret, omitteret coepta impraesentiarum quae tutius vel postea capesseret vel alia via adoriretur.

342. 4. dicit enim apertissime et copiosissime asserit non illum deum fuisse sed daemonem.

See Apul. De deo Socratis, chap. 19, quoted in last note (p. 341. 33), et al.

342. 6. pertractans istam Platonis de deorum sublimitate et hominum humilitate et daemonum medietate sententiam.

See De deo Socratis, chap. 3 (Hildebrand's edition, vol. 2, p. 118): Hos namque cunctos deos in sublimi aetheris vertice locatos; again chap. 4: deos ab hominibus plurimum differentes loci sublimitate; chap. 5: si omnino homines a diis immortalibus procul repelluntur atque in haec terrae tartara relegantur; chap. 6, for the demons, quaedam divinae mediae potestates inter summum aethera et infimas terras, and he also speaks of them as corpore aëria (chap. 13).

342. 8. Plato etiamsi non diis quos ab omni humana contagione semovit....

Compare De deo Socratis, chap. 3 (Hildebrand's edition, vol. 2, p. 118): ab humana contagione procul discretos, though here not avowedly on the authority of Plato; compare the rest of the chapter, also chap. 6 on Plato's authority (responderit enim Plato pro sententia sua mea voce), Neque enim illos a cura rerum humanarum sed contrectatione sola removi. Compare Plato, Symposium 203. A, θεὸς δὲ ἀνθρώπῳ οὐ μέγιστα.

342. 23. deos a daemonibus tam diligenter copioseque discernit.

See chap. 6 (De deo Socratis).

342. 34. Nam de moribus eorum, cum de omnibus generaliter loqueretur,

non solum nihil boni dixit sed etiam plurimum mali.

This seems to be a rather unfair criticism on the part of Augustine of the statements of Apuleius in the *De deo Socratis*. We cannot see how Augustine could say *nihil boni dixit*. Surely chap. 6 (Hildebrand's edition, vol. 2, p. 128) is against this: *inter homines coelicolasque vectores hinc precum inde donorum, qui ultro citro portant hinc petitiones inde suppetias ceu quidam interpretes et salutigeri. . . .* These and other like offices of the daemons mentioned by Apuleius make Augustine's criticism (*nihil boni dixit*) untrue. Of course Apuleius has also very unfavorable things to say against the demons, for which compare chaps. 12 and 13. In chap. 16 Apuleius speaks of the better kind of demons: *sunt autem non posteriore numero praestantiori longe dignitate, superius aliud augustius genus daemonum qui semper a corporis compedibus liberi certis potestatibus curant.*

343. 18. *serpentibus qui etiam deposita tunica senectutem deponere atque in iuventam redire perhibentur.*

See Pliny H. N. 8. 27. 99, *anguis hiberno situ membrana corporis obducta feniculi suco impedimentum illud exuit nitidusque vernat*, *ibid.* 8. 31. 111; Theophrastus auctor est *angues modo et stelliones senectutem exuere*. As Augustine has elsewhere, in the DCD XV. 9 XV. 12, mentioned Pliny and quoted from, though without naming, the *Historia Naturalis*, it is likely that here also Pliny is his authority, if indeed a literary source is required.

344. 1. *At enim volatilia cum volando fatigantur vel reficiendum alimen-*

tis corpus habent terram repetunt vel ad requiem vel ad pastum, quod daemones, inquit, non faciunt.

Compare De deo Socratis, chap. 8 (Hildebrand's edition, vol. 2, p. 134): Semper enim illis victus omnis in terra, ibidem pabulum, ibidem cubile; tantum quod aëra proximum terrae volitando transverberant. Ceterum cum illis fessa sunt remigia pennarum terra seu portus est. That the demons do not come to earth for rest or food, as the birds do, is rather implied than stated by Apuleius. Compare De deo Socratis, chap. 9.

344. 16. Nam et illa ratio Platonis, qua elementa quattuor proportionem contexit atque ordinat, ita duobus extremis, igni mobilissimo et terrae immobili, media duo, aerem et aquam interserens.

Compare Plato, Timaeus 31 B, ὅθεν ἐκ πυρὸς καὶ γῆς τὸ τοῦ παντὸς ἀρχόμενος ξυνιστάναι σῶμα ὃ θεὸς ἐποίει . . . 32 B, οὕτω δὲ πυρὸς τε καὶ γῆς ὕδωρ ἀέρα τε ὃ θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ θείει, καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλα καθ' ὅσον ἦν δυνατόν ἀνὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἀπεργασάμενος, ὃ τι περ πῦρ πρὸς ἀέρα, τοῦτο ἀέρα πρὸς ὕδωρ, καὶ ὃ τι ἀήρ πρὸς ὕδωρ τοῦτο ὕδωρ πρὸς γῆν, ξυνέδησε καὶ ξυνεστήσατο οὐρανὸν ὄρατὸν καὶ ἀπτόν. Id. De Legg. 10. 889 B, πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν καὶ ἀέρα φύσει πάντα εἶναι καὶ τύχῃ φασί. Augustine found this in Cicero's translation of the Timaeus. See DCD XIII. 16. Compare Apul. De dog Plat. 1, chap. 7 and chap. 11.

344. 22. Et ipse quippe Apuleius cum ceteris terre animal hominem dicit.

See Apul. De deo Socratis, chap. 3 (Hildebrand's edition).

345. 4. dicit ad eos pertinere divinationes augurum, aruspicum, vatum atque somniorum. . . .

See Apul. De deo Socratis, chap. 14 (Hildebrand's edition vol. 2. p. p. 142).

346 19. Perturbatio est enim quae Graece *πάθος* dicitur; unde illa voluit vocare animo passiva, quia verbum de verbo *πάθος* passio diceretur motus animi contra rationem.

See Cic. Tusc. 3. 4. 7; num reliquae quoque perturbationes animi, formidines, libidines, iracundiae? Haec enim fere eius modi quae Graeci *πάθη* appellant. ibid 4. 5. 10, quae Graeci *πάθη* vocant, nobis perturbationes appellari magis placet quam morbos. ibid. 4. 6. 11, De Finn. 3. 10. 35. Passio is a later Latin word and belongs especially to ecclesiastical Latinity.

348. 3. isti (daemones) ad deos perferant preces hominum et inde ad homines inpetrata quae poscunt.

See Apul. De deo Socratis 1. 6 (Hildebrand's edition): Ceterum sunt quaedam divinae mediae potestates inter summum aethera et infimas terras in isto intersitae aeris spatio, per quas et desideria nostra et merita ad deos commeant: hos Graeci nomine *δαίμονας* nuncupant, inter homines (?) coelicolasque vectores, hinc precum unde donorum, qui ultro citro portant, hinc petitiones inde suppetias ceu quidam utriusque interpretes et salutigeri. The original of this is found in Plato's Symposium 202 E. Compare also Apul. De dog. Plat. 1. chap. 12; Daemonas vero . . . ministros deorum arbitratur custodesque.

349. 5. fructus alieni in alias terras transferri perhibentur, nonne in

duodecim tabulis Cicero commemorat esse conscriptum et ei qui hoc fecerit supplicium constitutum?

We cannot say in which of Cicero's works this reference was found, and this fragment of Cicero seems to have remained unnoticed by the editors of his works. Augustine's words appear to be the only authority for ascribing such a statement to Cicero. It would be most natural to assign it to the *De Legibus*.

Compare Pliny, *N. H.* 28. 2. 17: *quid? non et legum ipsarum in duodecim tabulis verba sunt; 'qui fruges excantassit'?*, also Apuleius *Apologia* 47: *Magia ista res est legibus delegata, iam inde antiquitus duodecim tabulis propter incredundas frugum illecebras interdicta.*

349. 9. Apuleius ipse numquid apud Christianos iudices de magicis artibus accusatus est?

This was the case which was brought by Pontianus, Sicinus Aemilianus and Sicinus Pudens, at the instigation of Herennius Rufinus, against Apuleius on the charge of having used magic arts and spells to win the love of Prudentilla a widow and mother of his friend Pontianus. See Apuleius', *Apologia* or *De Magia*, which was the defence of the author on this occasion. Has Augustine any authority for writing *apud Christianos iudices*? So far as I know there is no authority for it and it is probably a misstatement. See note given in Oudendorp's edition of Apuleius vol. 3. p. 486; *Fuere illi ethnici omnes, Cl. Maximus, Africae proconsul, et alii qui in consilio erant. Quod (ut alia testimonia taceam) in hac ipsa oratione clarissime adparet, praesertim eo loco ubi Apuleius Mercurii sigillum in manus Maximi tradit.*

349. 27. Huius autem philosophi Platonici copiosissima et disertissima extat oratio.

For the question as to the unity of the *Apologia* see Hildebrand's edition, vol. 1, proleg. p. 40; and Oudendorp's edition vol. 3, p. 485. It must be said that a careful reading of the *Apologia* gives one the impression of its being an oratio and not duo libri.

354. 19. Nam diversa de illis Hermes Aegyptius, quem trismegiston vocant, sensit et scripsit.

Under the name of Ἑρμῆς Τρισμέγιστος very numerous works were in circulation in the early Christian centuries. These works professing to be from Hermes were of a Neo-Platonizing tendency in the struggle against Christianity. The work of Hermes referred to above by Augustine is the λόγος τέλειος translated into Latin by Apuleius under the title of *Asclepius*, sive *Dialogus Hermetis Trismegisti*, a dialogue between Hermes and his pupil *Asclepius* (Huius Aegyptii verba sicut in nostram linguam interpretata sunt). See Lact. Div. Inst. 1. 6. 3, ut ei multarum rerum et artium scientia Trismegisto cognomen inponent. De ira Dei 11. 12; Hermes, quem Cicero ait in numero deorum apud Aegyptios haberi, eum scilicet qui ob virtutem multarumque artium scientiam Termaximus nominatus est. His teachings are mentioned often in the works of Lactantius.

355. 6. sq. For the quotations on this page see *Asclepius*, chaps. 23, 24 (Hildebrand's edition, vol. 2, p. 305-7.)

358. 5. sq. See *Apul. Asclepius* chap. 37 (Hildebrand's edition, vol. 2, p. 326).

363. 11. Sane advertendum est quo modo iste Aegyptius, cum doleret

tempus esse venturum quo illa aufer-
rentur ex Aegypto. . . .

See Apul. Asclepius chap. 24.

364. 13. sq. See Apul. Asclepius chap. 37 (Hilde-
brand's edition, vol. 2, p. 327 sq.)

367. 13. sicut Leone sacerdote pro-
dente ad Olympiadem matrem scribit
Alexander.

See note p. 327. 25.

BOOK IX.

368. 14. daemones quoque appellaverunt nomine deorum.

See Lact. Div. Inst. 2. 14. 6: hos enim putant deos esse. *ibid.*, 4. 27. 14; nisi quod idem sunt daemones quos vulgus deos esse opinatur? . . . ergo idem sunt daemones quos fatentur execrandos esse, idem dii quibus supplicant. Compare Plotinus Enn. 3. 5. 6; καὶ εἰ πολλάκις καὶ δαίμονας θεοὺς λέγομεν εἶναι. Lactantius is evidently Augustine's authority.

368. 15. quamquam et deos, sed rarius, nomine daemonum.

In Lactantius we find Juppiter, Apollo, Neptune and Vulcan, who are elsewhere acknowledged as gods, called demons. See Div. Inst. 1. 7. 9, 4. 27. 12 sq.

368. 16. ita ut ipsum Iovem, quem volunt esse regem ac principem ceterorum, ab Homero fateantur daemonem nuncupatum.

So far as I know Zeus is not called δαίμων anywhere in the works of Homer as we have them, except perhaps by implication in Iliad, 1. 222:

δῶματ' ἐς αἰγίοχοιο Διὸς μετὰ δαίμονας ἄλλους.

Augustine probably got this, not directly from Homer, but from Lactantius Div. Inst. 4. 27. 15: credant Homero qui summum illum Iovem daemonibus adgregavit, as we cannot infer from Augustine's language ab Homero fateantur that he referred to direct Homeric authority, or even to indirect Homeric authority of a Latin version.

369. 20. Apud plerosque enim usitatum est dici alios bonos alios malos daemones.

See Lact. Div. Inst. 2. 14. 5; Ita duo genera daemonum, unum coeleste alterum terrenum. Hi sunt immundi spiritus malorum quae geruntur auctores, quorum idem diabolus est princeps. For good demons see Porphyry De Abst. 2. 38, 39, 41, 53, Ad Marcellam 21; for bad demons Id. De Abst. 2. 38 (ad fin.) 58.

370. 15. Ex hoc ferme daemonum numero, inquit,

See De deo Socratis chap. 12 (Hildebrand's edition, vol. 2, p. 139.)

371. 9. de his animi motibus, quae Graeci πάθη, nostri autem quidam, sicut Cicero, perturbationes, quidam affectiones vel affectus, quidam vero, sicut iste de Graeco expressius, passionibus vocant.

See note p. 346. 10. By the words sicut iste de Graeco expressius, passionibus Augustine means that Cicero by a more literal translation agrees with others (quidam) in calling the πάθη passionibus. This, however, is not so. Cicero himself says that for a more literal translation he would make πάθη = morbi. Compare Tusc. 3. 4. 7, morbos, et id verbum esset e verbo; De Finn. 3. 10. 35, quas Graeci πάθη appellant, poteram ego verbum ipsum interpretans morbos appellare sed non conveniret ad omnia. Moreover the word passio does not occur at all in Cicero or in any classical writer, but belongs to the latter period of Latin.

371. 13. Has ergo perturbationes sive affectiones sive passionibus quidam

philosophi dicunt etiam in sapientem cadere, sed moderatas rationique subiectas.

See Tusc. 3. 4. 7 sq., 3. 6. 12, 3. 9. 19, 4. 19. 43, et passim. Quidam, Hoc qui sentiunt Platonici sunt sive Aristotelici, line 17.

371. 19. Aliis autem, sicut Stoicis, cadere ullas omnino huiusce modi passiones in sapientem non placet.

See Cic. De Finn. 3. 10. 35; itaque his sapiens semper vacabit, Tusc. 4. 17. 38; atque idem ita acrem in omnis partis aciem intendit, ut semper videat sedem sibi ac locum sine molestia atque angore vivendi, ut, quemcumque casum fortuna invexerit, hunc apte et quiete ferat; quod qui faciet non aegritudine solum vacabit, sed etiam peturbationibus reliquis omnibus.

375. 11. Cicero in Caesaris laude locutus est. . . .

In the quotation which Augustine proceeds to give from pro Q. Ligario 12. 37, he omits the word plurimis.

377. 6. quos poetae quorundam hominum ossores et amatores deos non procul a veritate confingunt.

See Apul. De deo Socratis 12. (Hildebrand's edition, vol. 2, p. 139).

377 24. Denique hinc esse dicit Homericam illam Minervam quae mediis coetibus Graium cohibendo Achilli intervenit.

See Apul. De deo Socratis 11, (Hildebrand's edition vol. 2, p. 138).

378. 31. Igitur homines, inquit, ratione gaudentes

This is quoted as Hildebrand says non ita magna codd. utriusque scriptoris dissensione from De deo Socratis, 4 (Hildebrand's edition vol. 2. p. 122-3.)

381. 23. Is cum de humanis animis ageret: Pater, inquit, misericors mortalia illis vincla faciebat.

This reads in the original (Enn. 4. 3. 12) Ζεὺς δὲ πατὴρ ἐλεῖστας πονοῦμένας θνητὰ αὐτῶν τὰ δεσμὰ ποιῶν. The reference is here given by Dombart.

382. 15. Dicit quidem et animas hominum daemones esse et ex hominibus fieri lares, si meriti boni sunt; lemures si mali seu larvas; manes autem deos dici si incertum est bonorum eos seu malorum esse meritorum.

We should suppose that as no new subject has been mentioned, that of dicit is the same as the subject in the preceding chapter, viz. Plotinus. We see, however, from the lines following dicit, which are condensed from Apuleius, that the latter is the subject. See Apul. De deo Socratis, 15 (Hildebrand's edition vol. 2, pp. 146-7).

382. 27. Inde autem perhibet appellari Graece beatos εὐδαίμονας, quod boni sint animi

See Apul. De deo Socratis 15 (Hildebrand's edition, vol. 2, p. 144): Unde nonnulli arbitrantur . . . εὐδαίμονας dici beatos quorum daemon bonus id est animus virtute perfectus est.

383. 9. Habetis, inquit, interim bina animalia; deos ab hominibus plurimum differentes loci sublimitate

See Apul. De deo Socratis 4. (Hildebrand's edition vol. 2. p. 123).

389. 25. Deum quidem summum omnium creatorem, quem nos verum Deum dicimus, sic a Platone praedicari asseverat, quod ipse sit solus qui non possit sermonis humani quavis oratione vel modice comprehendere; vix autem sapientibus viris, cum se vigore animi quantum licuit a corpore removerunt, intellectum huius Dei, id quoque interdum velut in altissimis tenebris rapidissimo coruscamine lumen candidum intermicare.

See Apul. De deo Socratis 3 (Hildebrand's edition vol. 2. p. 119): Compare Id. De dog. Platonis 1. 5 (Hildebrand's edition vol. 2, p. 183) Tert. Apol. 46; Plato affirmet factitorem universitatis neque invenire facilem et inventum enarrari in omnes difficilem. Lact. Inst. Epit. 3. 1; sublimior enim ac maior est quam ut possit aut cogitatione hominis aut sermone comprehendere. id. Div. Inst. 1. 8. 1: cuius (Dei) vim maiestatemque tantam esse dicit in Timaeo Plato ut eam neque mente concipere neque verbis enarrare quisquam possit ob nimiam et inaestimabilem potestatem. Compare also Cicero N. D. 1. 12. 30: Iam de Platonis inconstantia longum est dicere, qui in Timaeo patrem huius mundi nominari neget posse, in Legum autem libris quid sit omnino deus anquiri oportere non censeat. Minucius Felix, Octav. 19.

390. 12. si non contaminantur sidera, cum videntur, quos deos omnes visibiles dicit.

Apul. De deo Socratis 2 (Hildebrand's edition, vol. 2, p. 115): In eodem visibilium deorum numero cetera quoque sidera qui cum Platone sentis locato (?)

392. 12. Ubi est illud Plotini ubi ait: Fugendum est igitur ad carissimam patriam, et ibi pater et ibi omnia. Quae igitur, inquit, classis aut fuga?

The original reads (Enn. 1. 6. 8), *φεύγωμεν δὴ φίλην ἐς πατρίδα τίς οὖν ὁ στόλος καὶ ἡ φυγή; . . . πατὴρ δὲ ἡμῶν ὄθεν περ ἦλθομεν καὶ πατὴρ ἐκεῖ. τίς οὖν ὁ στόλος καὶ ἡ φυγή;* Dom-bart gives this reference.

394. 17. Nos autem, sicut scriptura loquitur, . . . angelos quidem partim bonos partim malos, numquam vero bonos daemones legimus.

The passages of Scripture bearing on this point are numerous. See (Vlg.) Gen. 16. 7, 24. 7, 28. 12; 1 Reg. 29. 9; 1 Par. 21. 12; Ps. 90. 11, 96. 7, 103. 4; Mal. 3. 1; Mat. 4. 11, 13. 39, 16. 27; 2 Cor. 11. 14; 1 Tim. 5. 21, where good angels are spoken of. For the bad angels see Mat. 25. 41; 1 Cor. 6. 3; Iud. 6.

395. 8. Daemones enim dicuntur (quoniam vocabulum Graecum est) ab scientia nominati.

See Lact. Div. Inst. 2. 14. 6, *daemones autem grammatici dictos aiunt quasi δαίμονας, id est peritos ac rerum scios*, which is also the derivation given in Plato Cratylus 398. B. *ὅτι φρόνιμοι καὶ δαίμονες ἦσαν δαίμονας αὐτοὺς ὠνόμασεν.*

398. 5. Hos si Platonici malunt deos quam daemones dicere eis que adnum-

erare quos a summo Deo conditos deos scribit eorum auctor et magister Plato.

Cicero did not get this reference (Tim. 41 A) directly from Plato, but from Cicero's Latin version of the Timaeus, as we learn from DCD XIII. 16, where Augustine quotes verbatim Cicero's Latin version of the passage to which he refers here: *Platonis haec verba sunt, sicut ea Cicero in Latinum vertit* (p. 575. 17).

BOOK X.

402. 8. *Λατρείαν* quippe nostri, ubicumque sanctarum scripturarum positum est, interpretati sunt servitutem.

See Hatch and Redpath's Concordance to the Septuagint, Dutripon's Concordance to the Vulgate, and Moulton and Geden's Concordance to the Greek New Testament, on *λατρεία* and *servitus*.

402. 9. Sed ea servitus quae debetur hominibus, secundum quam praecipit apostolus servos dominis suis subditos esse debere, alio nomine Graece nuncupari solet.

That is *δουλεία*. The distinction between *δουλεία* and *λατρεία* is often mentioned by Augustine. Compare Quaest. in Ex. 94 *δουλεία* debetur Deo tamquam Domino, *λατρεία* vero non nisi Deo tamquam Deo, et al; and between the verbs *λατρεύειν* and *δουλεύειν* in Quaest. in Lev. 66.

403. 25. Unde in scripturarum locis, ut distinctio certior appareret, non *εὐσέβειαν*, quod ex bono cultu, sed *θεοσέβειαν* quod ex Dei cultu compositum resonat, dicere maluerunt.

See under these words Moulton and Geden's Concordance to the Greek Testament, and Hatch and Redpath's Concordance to the Septuagint.

404. 18. Saepe multumque Plotinus asserit sensum Platonis explanans, ne illam quidem, quam credunt esse universitatis animam, aliunde beatam esse quam nostram, idque esse lumen

quod ipsa non est, sed a quo creata est et a quo intellegibiliter inluminante intellegibiliter lucet. Dat enim similitudinem ad illa incorporea de his caelestibus conspicuis amplisque corporibus, tamquam ille sit sol et ipsa sit luna. Lunam quippe solis obiectu inluminari putant. Dicit ergo ille magnus Platonicus animam rationalem, sive potius intellectualis dicenda sit, ex quo genere etiam immortalium beatorumque animas esse intellegit, quos in caelestibus sedibus habitare non dubitat, non habere supra se naturam nisi Dei qui fabricatus est mundum, a quo et ipsa facta est.

Compare Plotinus Enn. 2. 9. 2, μένει τε ἀπραγμόνως αὐτῇ, οὐκ ἐκ διανοίας διοικοῦσα, οὐδέ τι διορθουμένη, ἀλλὰ τῇ εἰς τὸ πρὸ αὐτῆς θεᾷ κατακοσμοῦσα δυνάμει θαυμαστῇ · ὅσον γὰρ πρὸς αὐτῇ ἔστι, τόσῳ καλλίων καὶ δυνατωτέρα. κακείθεν ἔχουσα, δίδωσι τῷ μετ' αὐτὴν, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐλλάμπουσα αἰεὶ ἐλλάμπεται; also ibid. 2. 9. 3, 3. 9. 1, 4. 3. 11, ἦν δὲ νοῦς ἐκείνος ὁ ἐκεῖ ἥλιος · οὗτος γὰρ ἡμῖν γιγνέσθω παράδειγμα τοῦ λόγου · ἐφεξῆς δὲ τούτῳ ψυχὴ ἐξηρητημένη, μένοντος νοῦ, μένουσα. δίδωσι δὲ αὐτῇ τὰ πέρατα αὐτῆς τὰ πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν ἥλιον, τούτῳ τῷ ἡλίῳ, and ibid. 5. 6. 4. These references have not been given by Dom-
bart.

406. 16. religentes, unde et religio dicta perhibetur.

Augustine follows Cicero. See N. D. 2. 28. 72, qui autem omnia quae ad cultum deorum pertinerent diligenter retractarent et tamquam relegerent sunt dicti religiosi ex religendo. Compare Lact. Div. Inst. 4. 28. 3, hoc vinculo pietatis obstricti deo et religati sumus: unde ipsa religio nomen accepit, non ut Cicero in-

terpretatus est a religendo, *ibid.* 6, 10. 2, *Inst. Epit.* 64. 5.

410. 14. sacrificium res divina est, ita ut hoc quoque vocabulo id Latini veteres appellaverunt.

See Cic. *De Div.* 2, 10. 25, si enim nihil fit extra fatum, nihil levare re divina potest. *N. D.* 3. 18. 47, in both of which cases res divina evidently stands for sacrificium. See Plautus *Epid.* 3. 3. 34 (415), *Facturum dixit rem esse divinam domi*, and *Amph.* 3. 3. 13 (968), *qui re divina facta mecum prandeat*. Terence *Eun.* 3. 3. 7 (513), *Hecyra* 1. 2. 109 (184).

415. 13. alios damnabiles, quos et maleficos vulgus appellat.

These words seem to be from Lact. *Div. Inst.* 2. 16. 4: *et ii quos vere maleficos vulgus appellat*.

415. 18. Nam et Porphyrius quandam quasi purgationem animae per theurgian... disputatione promittit; reversionem vero ad Deum hanc artem praestare cuiquam negat. . . . Nunc enim hanc artem tamquam fallacem et in ipsa actione periculosam et legibus prohibitam cavendam monet; nunc autem... utilem dicit esse mundanae parti animae. . . . Hanc enim dicit per quasdam consecrationes theurgicas quas teletas vocant idoneam fieri atque aptam susceptioni spirituum et angelorum et ad videndos deos. Ex quibus tamen theurgicis teletis fateatur intellectuali animae nihil purgationis accedere, quod eam faciat idon-

eam ad videndum Deum suum et perspicienda ea quae vere sunt Denique animam rationalem sive intellectualem in sua posse dicit evadere, etiamsi quod eius spiritale est nulla theurgica fuerit arte purgatum; porro autem a theurgo spiritalem purgari hactenus, ut non ex hoc ad immortalitatem aeternitatemque perveniat. Quamquam itaque discernat a daemonibus angelos, aëria loca esse daemonum, aëtheria vel empyrea disserens angelorum, et admoneat utendum alicuius daemonis amicitia, quo subvectante vel paululum a terra possit elevari quisque post mortem, aliam vero viam esse perhibeat ad angelorum superna consortia; cavendam tamen daemonum societatem expressa quodam modo confessione testatur, ubi dicit animam post mortem luendo poenas cultum daemonum a quibus circumveniebatur horrescere; ipsamque theurgian quam velut conciliatricem angelorum deorumque commendat apud tales agere potestates negare non potuit quae vel ipsae invidiant purgationi animae, vel artibus serviant invidorum, querelam de hac re Chaldaei nescio cuius expromens: 'Conqueritur,' inquit, 'vir in Chaldaea bonus, purgandae animae magno in molimine frustratos sibi esse successus, cum vir ad eadem potens tactus invidia adiuratas sacris precibus potentias alligasset ne postulata concederent. Ergo et ligavit ille, in-

quit, et iste non solvit.' Quo indicio dixit apparere theurgian esse tam boni conficiendi quam mali et apud deos et apud homines disciplinam; pati etiam deos et ad illas perturbationes passionesque deduci quas communiter daemonibus et hominibus Apuleius adtribuit; deos tamen ab eis aetheriae sedis altitudine separans et Platonis asserens in illa discretione sententiam.

417. 5. Porphyrius per nescio quam theurgicam disciplinam etiam deos obstrictos passionibus et perturbationibus dicit.

We are led by the nature of the subject of these extracts, which is chiefly the purification of the soul, to assign them to Porphyry's lost work *περὶ ἀνόδου ψυχῆς* (De Regressu Animae).

416. 29. pati etiam deos et ad illas perturbationes passionesque deduci quas communiter daemonibus et hominibus Apuleius adtribuit.

Compare Apul. De Deo Socratis 12-13 (Hildebrand's edition vol. 2, p. 140 sq.): Quapropter debet deus nullam perpeti vel opis vel amoris temporalem perfunctionem, et idcirco nec indignatione nec misericordia contingi, nullo angore contrahi, nulla alacritate gestire, sed ab omnibus passionibus liber nec dolere unquam nec aliquando laetari, nec aliquid repentinum velle vel nolle. Sed et haec cuncta et id genus cetera daemonum mediocritati congruunt. Sunt enim inter nos et deos ut loco regionis ita ingenio

mentis intersiti, habentes cum superis communem immortalitatem, cum inferis passionem. Nam proinde ut nos, pati possunt omnia animorum placamenta vel incitamenta, et ira incitantur et misericordia flectuntur et donis invitantur et precibus leniuntur et contumeliis exasperantur et honoribus mulcentur aliisque omnibus ad similem nobis modum variantur: quippe, ut in fine comprehendam, daemones sunt genere animalia, ingenio rationabilia, animo passiva, corpora aëria, tempore aeterna. Ex his quinque quae commemoravi tria a principio eadem quae nobiscum, quartum proprium, postremum commune cum diis immortalibus habent, sed differunt ab his passione. Quae propterea passiva non absurde, ut arbitror, nominavi, quod sint iisdem quibus nos perturbationibus mentis obnoxii. The first words of this quotation of Apuleius are the direct opposite of the words *pati etiam deos* which latter, however, are not the words of Apuleius but of Porphyry. Compare the words beginning chap. 10, *Ecce nunc alius Platonius quem doctiorem ferunt, Porphyrius, per nescio quam theurgicam disciplinam etiam ipsos obstrictos passionibus et perturbationibus dicit*. Compare the words of Porphyry (*Epistula ad Anebonem* 5. Partheny's edition p. XXXI) *ὥστε οὐχ οἱ δαίμονες μόνον εἰσὶν ἐμπαθεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ θεοὶ κατὰ τὸν Ὅμηρον στρεπτοὶ δέ τε καὶ θεοὶ αὐτοί*. Here Porphyry disagrees with his teacher Plotinus (*Enn.* 3. 5. 6.) in regard to the *ἀπάθεια* of the gods *τὸ μὲν δὴ θεῶν ἀπαθὲς λέγομεν, καὶ νομίζομεν γένος; δαίμοσι δὲ προστίθεμεν πάθη*.

418. 18. Melius sapuit iste Porphyrius cum ad Anebontem scripsit Aegyptium ubi consulenti similis et prodit artes sacrilegas et evertit.

By these words Augustine seems to be passing to another work of Porphyry from which he had not been quoting previously. The letter of Porphyry to Anebo, the Egyptian, has not been preserved entire, but only in fragmentary form. All the extant fragments of it have been put together by Thomas Gale in his edition of Iamblichus De Mysteriis (London 1670), and by Partheny in his edition of the same (Berlin 1875). It was printed before these only in the Poemander at Venice in 1483.

418. 20. Et ibi quidem omnes daemones reprobat, quos dicit ob imprudentiam trahere humidum vaporem et ideo non in aethere sed in aere esse sub luna atque in ipso lunae globo.... Quosdam namque benignos daemones more appellat aliorum, cum omnes generaliter imprudentes fateatur.

Augustine has preserved for us this information in regard to Porphyry's opinions of demons as expressed in the letter above named. But the original is lost.

418. 27. Miratur quod non solum dii alliciantur victimis sed etiam compellantur atque cogantur facere quod homines volunt.

See Ep. ad Anebontem 28 (Partheny's edition p. XXXVIII.)
 πάνν δέ με θράττει πῶς ὡς κρείττους παρακαλούμενοι ἐπιτάττονται ὡς χείρους, καὶ δίκαιον εἶναι ἀξιοῦντες τὸν θεράποντα, τὰ ἄδικοι αὐτοὶ κελευσθέντες δρᾶν ὑπομένουσι, καὶ καθαρῶ μὲν μὴ ὄντι ἐξ ἀφροδισίων οὐκ ἂν καλοῦντι ὑπακούσαιεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἄγειν εἰς παράνομα ἀφροδίσια τοὺς τυχόντας οὐκ ὀκνοῦσιν. This fragment of Porphyry is preserved by Eusebius, Praep. Evang., book 5, chap. 7, (191 D) and

bid. chap. 10 (197. D). But Augustine's knowledge of Porphyry's letter was not derived indirectly through Eusebius, for two reasons: (1) Augustine shows a larger acquaintance with the letter to Anebo than could possibly be gained from the disconnected fragments given by Eusebius. (2) Augustine seems to have had the actual book of Eusebius (in a Latin version) before him, so that he knew exactly from what part of the epistle he was quoting. Compare DCD X. 11 (p. 419. 33 *Sequitur et commemorat*); (p. 421. 16) *prope ad epistulae finem*. Such words of location he could not use if he had known only the fragments given by Eusebius.

419. 6. *Quaerit etiam veluti dubitans utrum in divinantibus et quaedam mira facientibus animae sint passionibus an aliqui spiritus extrinsecus veniant per quos haec valeant; et potius venire extrinsecus conicit, eo quod lapidibus et herbis adhibitis et alligent quosdam et aperiant clausa ostia, vel aliquid eius modi mirabiliter operentur.*

For this fragment of the letter to Anebo compare paragraph 24, (Partheny's edition, p. XXXVI) preserved in Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis* 3. 27, from which it is given by Partheny thus: *τούτου δὲ δείγματα ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ἐναργῆ τὸ λίθους καὶ βοτάνας φέρειν τοὺς καλουμένους, δεσμεῖν τε ἱερούς τινας δεσμοὺς καὶ λύνειν τούτους τὰ τε κεκλεισμένα ἀνοίγειν καὶ τὰς προαιρέσεις μεταβάλλειν τῶν ὑποδεχομένων ὥστε ἐκ φαύλων σπινδαίᾳς ἀπεργάζεσθαι.*

419. 12. *Unde dicit alios opinari esse quoddam genus cui exaudire sit proprium, natura fallax, omniforme, multimodum, simulans deos et daemones et animas defunctorum, et hoc esse quod efficiat haec omnia quae videntur bona esse vel prava; ceterum*

circa ea, quae vere bona sunt, nihil opitulari, immo vero ista nec nosse, sed et male conciliare et insimulare atque impedire nonnumquam virtutis sedulos sectatores, et plenum esse temeritatis et fastus, gaudere nidoribus, adulationibus capi, et cetera.

Compare Partheny's edition 26 (p. XXXVII): οἱ δὲ εἶναι μὲν ἔξωθεν τίθενται τὸ ὑπήκοον γένος ἀπατηλῆς φύσεως παντόμορφόν τε καὶ πολύτροπον, ὑποκρινόμενον καὶ θεοὺς καὶ δαίμονας καὶ ψυχὰς τεθνηκότων, καὶ διὰ τούτων πάντα δύνασθαι τῶν δοκούντων ἀγαθῶν ἢ κακῶν εἶναι. ἐπεὶ εἰς τὰ γε ὄντως ἀγαθὰ, ἅπερ εἶναι κατὰ ψυχὴν, μὴδὲν καθάπαξ συμβάλλεσθαι δυνασθαι, μὴδὲ εἰδέναι τὰῦτα, ἀλλὰ κακοσχολεύεσθαι καὶ τωθάζειν καὶ ἐμποδίζειν πολλάκις τοῖς εἰς ἀρετὴν ἀφικνουμένοις, πλήρεις τε εἶναι τύφου καὶ χαίρειν ἀτμοῖς καὶ θυσίαις.

419. 35. Quareit enim cur tamquam melioribus invocatis quasi peioribus impetretur, ut iniusta praecepta hominis exsequantur; cur adtrectatum re Veneria non exaudiant inprecantem, cum ipsi ad incestos quoque concubitus quoslibet ducere non morantur; cur animantibus suos antistites oportere abstinere denuntient, ne vaporibus profecto corporeis polluantur, ipsi vero et aliis vaporibus inliciantur et nidoribus hostiarum, cumque a cadaveris contactu prohibeatur inspector, plerumque illa cadaveribus celebrentur.

See the passage quoted p. 418. 27.

420. 15. Dicit etiam scripsisse Chaeremonem quendam ea quae apud Aegyptios sunt celebrata rumoribus vel de Iside vel de Osiride marito eius, maximam vim habere cogandi

deos ut faciant imperata, quando ille, qui carminibus cogit, ea se prodere vel evertere comminatur, ubi se etiam Osiridis membra dissipaturum terribiliter dicit si facere iussa neglexerint.

The passage of the Epistula ad Anebonem to which Augustine here refers is preserved by Eusebius Praep. Evang. 5. 10 (198 A), and by Iamblichus De Mysteriis 6. 5. Partheny, in his edition of Iamblichus De Mysteriis, p. XXXIX, par. 3., gives it thus: τὸ γὰρ λέγειν ὅτι τὸν οὐρανὸν προσαράξει καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς Ἰσιδος ἐκφανεῖ καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ἀπόρρητον δείξει καὶ τὴν βάρυν στήσει καὶ τὰ μέλη τοῦ Ὅσιριδος διασκεδάσει τῷ Τυφῶνι.

421. 16. prope ad epistulae finem petit se ab eo doceri quae sit ad beatitudinem via ex Aegyptia sapientia. Ceterum illos quibus conversatio cum diis ad hoc esset ut ob inveniendum fugitivum vel praedium comparandum, aut propter nuptias vel mercaturam vel quid huius modi mentem divinam inquietarent, frustra eos videri dicit coluisse sapientiam; illa etiam ipsa numina, cum quibus conversarentur, etsi de ceteris rebus vera praedicerent, tamen quoniam de beatitudine nihil cautum nec satis idoneum monerent, nec deos illos esse nec benignos daemones, sed aut illum qui dicitur fallax aut humanum omne commentum.

Partheny, p. 46 sq., gives this as follows: θέλω οὖν παρ' ὑμῶν τὴν εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν ὁδὸν ἐπιδειξαί μοι, καὶ ἐν τίνι κεῖται ἡ αὐτῆς οὐσία . . . μάτην αὐτοῖς ἡ σοφία ἐξήσκηται περὶ δραπετοῦ εὐρέσεως ἢ χωρίου ὦνῆς ἢ γάμου εἰ τύχοι ἢ ἐμπορίας τὸν θεῖον νοῦν ἐνοχλήσασιν· εἰ δ' οὐ παρείται μὲν, οἱ συνόντες περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων τὰ ληθέστατα λέγουσι, περὶ δὲ εὐδαιμονίας οὐδὲν ἀσφαλὲς οὐδ' ἐχέγγυον ἔχουσι, χαλεπὰ μὲν

διαμελετῶντες ἄχρηστα δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οὐκ ἦσαν ἄρα οὔτε θεοὶ οὔτ' ἀγαθοὶ δαίμονες, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκεῖνος ὁ λεγόμενος πλάνος ἢ πᾶν ἀνθρώπων εὔρημα καὶ θνητῆς φύσεως ἀνάπλασμα.

423. 24. quem ad modum suo Lycurgo Lacedaemonii, quod a Iove seu Apolline leges quas condidit, accepisset.

See note p. 72. 3.

424. 13. Omnia quippe quae prae-stare hominibus vel angeli vel homines possunt, in unius esse Omnipotentis potestate quisquis diffitetur, insanit.

Loesche (De Augustino Plotinizante in doctrina de Deo p. 61) cites the words of Plotinus (Enn. 3. 2. 1) as containing a similar view: τὸ μὲν τῷ αὐτομάτῳ καὶ τύχῃ διδόναι τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ σύστασιν ὡς ἄλογον καὶ ἀνδρὸς οὔτε νοῦν οὔτε αἴσθησιν κεκτημένου, δῆλόν πον καὶ πρὸ λόγου καὶ πολλοὶ ἱκανοὶ καταβέβληνται δεικνύντες τοῦτο λόγοι.

424. 16. De providentia certe Plotinus Platonicus disputat eamque a summo Deo, cuius est intellegibilis atque ineffabilis pulchritudo, usque ad haec terrena et ima pertingere flos-culorum atque foliorum pulchritudine comprobatur; quae omnia quasi abiecta et velocissime pereuntia decentissimos formarum suarum numeros habere non posse confirmat nisi inde formentur, ubi forma intellegibilis et incommutabilis simul habens omnia perseverat.

See Plotinus Enn. 3. 2. 13 (given by Dombart).

There are other references, not given by Dombart. Thus in Enn. 2. 9. 16 Plotinus speaks of the working of divine Providence of the world. Compare also Enn. 3. 3. 5. 1.

Compare the passage in Cic. N. D. 2. 45. 116 sq., 2. 47. 120: Age ut a caelestibus rebus ad

terrestres veniamus, quid est in his in quo non naturae ratio intellegentis appareat? Principio eorum, quae gignuntur e terra, stirpes et stabilitatem dant iis, quae sustentant, et e terra sucum trahunt, quo alantur ea quae radicibus continentur, obducunturque libro aut cortice trunci quo sint a frigoribus et caloribus tutiores. . . . 2. 51. 127: Ut vero perpetuus mundi esset ornatus magna adhibita cura est a providentia deorum, ut semper essent et bestiarum genera et arborum omniumque rerum, quae a terra stirpibus continerentur. Quae quidem omnia eam vim seminis habent in se, ut ex uno plura generentur....

426. 13. Illa namque visio Dei tantae pulchritudinis visio est et tanto amore dignissima, ut sine hac quibuslibet aliis bonis praeditum atque abundantem non dubitet Plotinus infelicissimum dicere.

See Plotinus Enn. 1. 6. 7, ἥς ὁ μὲν τυχὼν, μακάριος, ὅψιν μακαρίαν τεθεαμένος· ἀτυχὴς δὲ οὗτος ὁ μὴ τυχών. For this visio Dei compare also ibid. 1. 6. 8, 1. 6. 9, also 5. 3. 17. οὕτω τοι καὶ ψυχὴ ἀφώτιστος ἀθέατος ἐκείνου φωτισθεῖσα δὲ ἔχει ὃ ἐξήτει καὶ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος τὰληθινὸν ψυχῇ, ἐφάσθαι φωτὸς ἐκείνου καὶ αὐτῷ αὐτὸ θεάσασθαι, οὐκ ἄλλῃ φωτὶ, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ δι' οὗ καὶ ὁρᾶ: ibid 5. 5. 7, 5. 5. 8, 6. 7. 34 sq. 6. 9. 7, 6. 9. 8. Dombart has given the first of these references.

427. 20. inusitati partus animalium.

Compare Livy 23. 31. 15; bos eculeum peperit. 27. 4. 11, Tusculi agnum cum ubere lactenti natum. . . . haec prodigia hostiis maioribus procurata de-

creto pontificum et supplicatio diem Romae ad omnia pulvinaria, et al. Compare also Jul. Obseq. 1 (55), 5 (60), 14 (73), 15 (74), 20 (79), 25 (84), 26 (85) et passim.

427. 20. caelo terraque rerum insolita facies. . . .

Compare Livy 1. 31. 2, cum grandinem venti glomeratam in terras agunt, crebri cecidere caelo lapides. . . . Romanis quoque ab eodem prodigio novendiale sacrum publice susceptum est. 3. 10. 6: eo anno caelum ardere visum, terra ingenti motu concussa est. . . . libri per duumviros sacrorum aditi; also 4. 21. 5, 10 31. 8, 21. 62. 4, 22. 1. 8. sq., 24. 10. 6, 25. 7. 8, et al. Compare also Jul. Obseq. 1 (55), 11 (70), 12 (71), 20 (79), 21 (80), et passim.

427. 23. sed ea dico quae vi ac potestate eorum fieri satis evidenter apparet, ut est quod effigies deorum Penatium, quas de Troia Aeneas fugiens advexit, de loco in locum migrasse referuntur.

Compare Virgil, Aen. 1. 6, 1. 68, 1. 378, 2. 717, 4. 598, 5. 632 et passim; also Servius on Virgil Aen. 1. 378: Varro deos penates quaedam sigilla lignea vel marmorea ab Aenea in Italiam dicit advecta. . . . Idem Varro hos deos Dardanum ex Samothraca in Phrygiam, de Phrygia Aeneam in Italiam memorat portavisse.

427. 27. quod cotem Tarquinius novacula secuit.

See Livy 1. 36. 4: 'atqui hoc animo agitavi,' inquit 'te novacula cotem dis-

cissurum'. . . . tum illum haud cunctanter discidissee cotem ferunt. Cic. De Div. 1. 17. 32; Tarquinius autem se cogitasse cotem novacula posse praecidi. Tum Attium iussisse experiri. Ita cotem in comitium allatam inspectante et rege et populo novacula esse discissam. Compare Florus Epit. 1. 1. 5. Lact. Div. Inst. 2. 16. 11; ab augure lapis novacula incisus est. If Augustine got this not from Varro but from another source, it is impossible to say whether that source would be Livy, Cicero or Florus as all three give substantially the same account, and Augustine's notice is too brief to give us sufficient evidence to decide.

427. 27. quod Epidaurius serpens Aesculapio naviganti Romam comes adhaesit.

See Livy Epit. 11; missi legati ut Aesculapi signum Romam ab Epidauero transferrent, anguem qui se in navem eorum contulerat, in quo ipsum numen esse constabat, deportaverunt. Compare Val. Max. 1. 8. 2, where a more detailed account is given. Lact. Div. Inst. 2. 16. 11; quod serpens urbem Romam pestilentia liberavit Epidauero accersitus.

427. 28. quod navem, qua simulacrum matris Phrygiae vehebatur, tantis hominum boumque conatibus immobilem redditam una muliercula zona alligatam ad suae pudicitiae testimonium movit et traxit.

The name of the mulierculae was Claudia Quinta. See Livy 29. 14. 12, Cic. De Harusp. Resp. 13. 27. Lact. Div. Inst. 2. 16. 11: quod Claudiae manum navis secuta est.

427. 32. quod virgo Vestalis, de cuius corruptione quaestio vertebatur, aqua inpleto cribro de Tiberi neque perfluente abstulit controversiam.

The story is found fully related in Val. Max. 8. 1. 5; Tucciae virginis Vestalis incesti criminis reae castitas infamiae nube obscurata emergit. Quae conscientia certa sinceritatis suae spem salutis ancipiti argumento ausa petere est: arrepto enim cribro 'Vesta' inquit, 'si sacris tuis castas semper admovi manus, effice ut hoc hauriam e Tiberi aquam et in aedem tuam perferam' audaciter et temere iactis votis sacerdotis rerum ipsa natura cessit. This was probably found in the twentieth book of Livy which is no longer extant, but the Epitome of which gives Tuccia virgo Vestalis incesti damnata est, though damnata here might imply she suffered the usual death penalty, which is the opposite of what we learn from Augustine and Valerius Maximus. Compare Pliny H.N. 28. 2. 12; extat Tucciae Vestalis incesti deprecatio qua usa aquam in cribro tulit anno urbis DXVIII. But Augustine's source here was Varro, as we learn from DCD XXII. 11 (vol. II, p. 586. 12): quod Varro commemorat, Vestalem virginem, cum periclitaretur de stupro falsa suspitione, cribrum implesse aqua de Tiberi et ad suos iudices nulla eius perstillante parte portasse. Francken, Fragmenta Varronis, p. 121 sq. has assigned this whole passage, p. 427. 16-34. to Varro.

433. 3. Non enim re vera, ut ait Porphyrius et nonnulli putant, cada-

verinis nidoribus sed divinis honoribus gaudent.

The reference is here to one of the lost works of Porphyry, but we have not sufficient data on which to assign it to its particular source. (For an opinion the opposite of what Augustine here attributes to Porphyry compare Porphyry De Abstinencia 2. 34.)

435. 6. Ex qua opinione Porphyrius, quamvis non ex sua sententia sed aliorum, dicit bonum deum vel genium non venire in hominem nisi malus fuerit ante placatus.

The language here used would lead us on conjecture to assign the passage to the *περὶ ἀνόδου ψυχῆς* and such a sentiment may have been found in that lost work. But the same sentiment is found in a fragment of another work of Porphyry *περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας* preserved for us by Eusebius Praep. Evang. book 4, chap. 23 (174 C): ὅθεν καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ παρὰ Φοίνιξι καὶ ὅλως παρὰ τὰ θεία σοφοῖς ἱμάντες ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπιρρήσονται, καὶ ζῶα προσουδίξεται πρὸ τῆς θρησκείας τῶν θεῶν, ἐξελαυνόντων τῶν ἱερέων τούτους διὰ τοῦ δοῦναι πνεῦμα ἢ αἷμα ζώων, καὶ διὰ τῆς τοῦ ἀέρος πληγῆς, ἵνα τούτων ἀπελθόντων παρουσία τοῦ θεοῦ γένηται. This seems beyond doubt to be the passage to which Augustine refers, and we know that he was acquainted with the *ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας* of Porphyry, for in DCD XIX, 23 he mentions that work and gives large quotations from it.

436. 19. Dicit etiam Porphyrius divinis oraculis fuisse responsum nos non purgari lunae teletis atque solis.... Denique eodem dicit oraculo expressum principia posse purgare.... Dicit enim Deum Patrem et Deum Filium, quem Graece appellat paternum intellectum vel paternam mentem; de Spiritu autem sancto aut nihil aut non aperte aliquid dicit, quamvis

quem alium dicat horum medium non intellego.

Augustine does not make any statement as to the work of Porphyry from which he has given this extract. He is probably quoting from the *περὶ ἀνόδου ψυχῆς* (De regressu animae) On p. 446. 27 he refers to the same passage, and also on p. 447. 25, and in the same chapter he says he has quoted much from the same work of Porphyry.

436. 33. Si enim tertiam sicut Plotinus ubi de tribus principalibus substantiis disputat; animae naturam etiam iste vellet intelligi, non utique diceret horum medium. . . . Postponit quippe Plotinus animae naturam paterno intellectui.

The first book of the 5th Ennead is devoted to a discussion *περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχικῶν ὑποστάσεων*.

437. 20. nec dicamus tamen quod haeretici Sabelliani, eundem esse Patrem qui est et Filius, et eundem Spiritum sanctum qui est et Pater et Filius.

Compare Augustine De Haeresibus 41 (BE. 8. 32): Sabelliani ab illo Noeto. . . . dicuntur; nam et discipulum eius quidam perhibent fuisse Sabellium. . . . Quomodo de Sabellianis intelligi potest cum innotuerint dicere Patrem passum, unde Patripassiani quam Sabelliani crebrius nuncupentur? . . . Vel quomodo possunt intelligi quilibet eorum Patrem passum fuisse non dicere, cum dicant eundem ipsum esse et Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum? Ad Orosium contra Prisc. et Origen. 1. 4. 4, (BE 8. 671): Priscillianus Sabellianum anti-

quum dogma restituit, ubi ipse Pater qui Filius, qui et Spiritus sanctus perhibetur. . Also Contra Sermonem Arianorum 34. 32, Contra Maximinum 1. 13: Alium vero esse Patrem, alium esse Filium, quoniam non est Pater ipse qui Filius, et nobis contra Sabellianos est dogma commune. Sermo 71. 3. 5 (BE. 5. 448). Compare also Jerome Comm. in Ep. ad Eph. chap. 4., vv. 5. 6. (BE. vol. 7. col. 527): Hoc autem dico propter Sabellium, qui eundem Deum Patrem arbitratur et Filium, confundique personas, dum eandem divinitatem in utroque deprehendit. Eusebius H. E 7. 6 speaks of the heresy of Sabellius: ὄντος ἀσεβοῦς καὶ βλασφημίαν πολλὴν ἔχοντος περὶ τοῦ παντοκράτορος θεοῦ, πατρὸς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀπιστίαν τε πολλὴν περὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς παιδὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ πρωτοτόκου πάσης κτίσεως, τοῦ ἐναιθρωπήσαντος λόγου, ἀναισθησίαν δὲ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, and Epiphanius, Haer. 62.

442. 14. Et angelos quippe alios esse dixit qui deorsum descendentes hominibus theurgicis divina pronuntient; alios autem qui in terris ea quae Patris sunt et altitudinem eius profunditatemque declarent. . . . Unde optime admonet etiam ipse Platonicus imitandos eos potius quam invocandos.

It is impossible to say with certainty to which work of Porphyry this fragment belongs—probably to the *περὶ ἀνόδου ψυχῆς* (De regressu animae), from which he quotes largely. Compare DCD X. 9 (p. 416. 9): Quamquam itaque discernat a daemonibus angelos, which is evidently from the *De regressu animae*. Wolff (Porphyrii de philosophia ex oraculis haurienda librorum reliquiae. Berlin, 1856. p. 146) thinks this fragment may belong to the *περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας*.

444. 31. Non enim te decepisset (Christus) quem vestra, ut tu ipse scribis, oracula sanctum immortal-emque confessa sunt.

It is likely that Augustine's statement here refers to the work of Porphyry, entitled *κατὰ Χριστιανῶν*. Our knowledge of this work is so small that we cannot assign Augustine's reference, even if it comes from that work, to its place among the fifteen books composing the *κατὰ Χριστιανῶν*. We may say, however, that it probably was not found in the first book which treated of the contradictions of Scripture, or in the third, which contained a discussion on the various modes of interpreting Scriptures, or in the fourth, which comprised the early Mosaic period and Jewish antiquities, or in the twelfth or thirteenth, in which were his criticisms of the book of Daniel. If the above statement occurred in the *κατὰ Χριστιανῶν* how did Augustine become informed of it? Did he read that work in the original? We think this is improbable, and that it is likely Augustine read the *κατὰ Χριστιανῶν* in a Latin version. Even this it is not necessary to suppose, because the attack of Porphyry on Christianity became so famous and widely known, and called forth so many replies from the Christians, it is very easy to see how Augustine may have got hold, from what was popularly known of Porphyry's views, of such an interesting admission as that the enemies of Christianity acknowledged Christ to be divine. Compare Augustine, *De consensu evang.* i. 15. 23: *Quid quod isti vani Christi laudatores et Christianae religionis obliqui obtrectatores propterea non audent blasphemare Christum, quia quidam philosophi eorum, sicut in libris suis Porphyrius Sículus prodidit, consulerunt deos suos quid de Christo responderent, illi autem oraculis suis Christum laudare compulsi sunt.* May the statement of

Augustine, on which we are commenting, have been taken from Porphyry's *περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας*?

446. 13. Confiteris tamen etiam spiritalem animam sine theurgicis artibus et sine teletis, quibus frustra discendis elaborasti, posse continentiae virtute purgari. Aliquando etiam dicis quod teletae non post mortem elevant animam, ut iam nec eidem ipsi, quam spiritalem vocas, aliquid post huius vitae finem prodesse videantur; et tamen versas haec multis modis et repetis.... Sed bene, quod metuendam dicis hanc artem vel legum periculis vel ipsius actionis.

Here again we have a fragment, no doubt from the *περὶ ἀνόδου ψυχῆς* (De regressu animae) to which we should also add line 26 below: Ignorantiam certe et propter eam multa vitia per nullas teletas purgari dicis, sed per solum *πατρικὸν νοῦν*, id est paternam mentem sive intellectum, qui paternae est conscius voluntatis.

446. 29. Hunc autem Christum esse non credis: contemnis enim eum propter corpus ex femina acceptum et propter crucis opprobrium.

The connection of these words with the foregoing would perhaps suggest that they came from the same work of Porphyry, namely *περὶ ἀνόδου ψυχῆς* (De regressu animae). The first part, however, Hunc autem Christum esse non credis, is probably only an inference drawn by Augustine from the words of Porphyry. We know from the opening words of chap. 29 that Porphyry did treat of tres deos: Praedicas Patrem et eius Filium quem vocas paternum intellectum

seu mentem, et horum medium, quem putamus te dicere Spiritum sanctum, et more vestro appellas tres deos. Here Porphyry may have paused and said such things against Christ as Augustine gives (propter corpus ex femina acceptum et propter crucis opprobrium), but it is more likely that this statement comes from Augustine's general knowledge of the subject matter of Porphyry's *κατὰ Χριστιανῶν*.

448. 10. Uteris etiam hoc verbo aper-
tius ubi Platonis sententiam sequens
nec ipse dubitas in hac vita hominem
nullo modo ad perfectionem sapien-
tiae pervenire, secundum intellectum
tamen viventibus omne quod deest
providentia Dei et gratia post hanc
vitam posse compleri.

449. 6. Vos certe tantum tribuitis
animae intellectuali quae anima utique
humana est ut eam consubstantialem
paternae illi menti quem Dei Filium
confitemini, fieri posse dicatis.

These seem to be also taken in substance from the *περὶ ἀνόδου ψυχῆς* (De regressu animae).

449. 25. Porphyrium in his ipsis li-
bris ex quibus multa posui quos de
regressu animae scripsit.

In these words Augustine states the source from which he has quoted so much above (beginning DCD X. 9).

449. 26. tam crebro praecipere omne
corpus esse fugiendum, ut anima pos-
sit beata permanere cum Deo.

These words are mentioned directly in connection with the *De regressu animae*.

449. 31. Platone quippe auctore animal esse dicitis mundum et animal beatissimum quod vultis esse etiam sempiternum.

Another fragment, no doubt, of the *περὶ ἀνόδου ψυχῆς*. This reference from Plato is Timaeus 30 B (as given by Dombart). To this fragment of Porphyry we should add as evidently a continuation:

450. 2. Solem quoque istum et cetera sidera non solum in libris vestris corpora esse fatemini quod vobiscum omnes homines et conspiciere non cunctantur et dicere; verum etiam altiore, ut putatis, peritia haec esse animalia beatissima perhibetis et cum his corporibus sempiterna.

451. 2. sicut a sancto sene Simpliciano, qui postea Mediolanensi ecclesiae praesedit episcopus.

This Simplicianus is mentioned in the appendix of Gennadius to the *De viris illustribus* of Jerome, 37: Simplicianus multis epistulis hortatus est Augustinum adhuc presbyterum agitare ingenium et expositioni scripturarum vacare, ut etiam novus quidam Ambrosius Origenis *ἐργοδιώκτης* videretur. Compare Augustine, *Conf.* 8. 1. 1, 8. 2. 3, *Retract.* 2. 1. 1; *Simplicianum ecclesiae Mediolanensis antistitem qui beatissimo successit Ambrosio*. Augustine addressed also two books *De diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum*. Simplicianus was acquainted with Ambrose, by whom he was regarded with deep respect. We have four letters which Ambrose addressed to him: *Epp.* 37. 38. 61. 67.

451. 16. Nam Platonem animas hominum post mortem revolvi usque ad

corpora bestiarum scripsisse certissimum est.

Compare Plato, *Phaedo* 81 E, *Phaedrus* 246 B, 249. B, *Laws* 903 D, 904 E, *Timaeus* 41 E-42 D. But Augustine did not get this from Plato, but from the Latin version of Plotinus. Compare *Enn.* 3. 4. 2.

451. 18. Porphyrio tamen iure displicuit (i. e. animas hominum post mortem revolvi usque ad corpora bestiarum)

451. 32. ut saltem in solos homines humanas animas praecipitari posse sentiret, beluinos autem carceres evertere minime dubitaret. Dicit etiam ad hoc Deum animam mundo dedisse ut materiae cognoscens mala ad Patrem recurreret nec aliquando iam talium polluta contagione teneretur.

452 8. quod mundatam ab omnibus malis animam et cum Patre constitutam numquam iam mala mundi huius passuram esse confessus est.

453. 1. Vidit hoc Porphyrius purgatamque animam ob hoc reverti dixit ad Patrem ne aliquando iam malorum polluta contagione teneatur.

455. 3. Cum autem dicit Porphyrius in primo iuxta finem de regressu animae libro nondum receptum in unam quandam sectam quod universalem contineat viam animae liberandae vel a philosophia verissima aliqua vel ab Indorum moribus ac disciplina, aut inductione Chaldaeorum

aut alia qualibet via, nondumque in suam notitiam eandem viam historiali cognitione perlatam.

These all seem to be taken in substance from Porphyry's *περὶ ἀνόδου ψυχῆς*. The last fragment, on Augustine's own statement, is taken from the first book of Porphyry's work.

451. 18. Hanc sententiam Porphyrii doctor tenuit et Plotinus.

Compare (with Dombart) Plotinus Enn. 3. 4. 2. καὶ τὸ ψυχὴ πᾶσα ἐπιμελεῖται τοῦ ἀψύχου, ἐπὶ ταύτης μάλιστα· αἱ δ' ἄλλαι ἄλλως. πάντα δὲ οὐρανὸν περιπολεῖ ἄλλοτε ἐν ἄλλοις εἶδεσιν, ἢ ἐν αἰσθητικῷ εἶδει, ἢ ἐν λογικῷ ἢ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ φυτικῷ . . . Ὅσοι μὲν οὖν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐτήρησαν, πάλιν ἄνθρωποι· ὅσοι δὲ αἰσθήσει μόνον ἔζησαν, ζῶα. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν αἰσθήσει μετὰ θυμοῦ, τὰ ἄγρια καὶ ἡ διαφορὰ ἡ ἐν τοῦτοις τὸ διάφορον τῶν τοιούτων ποιεῖ. ὅσοι δὲ μετ' ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς τοῦ ἐπιθυμοῦντος, τὰ ἀκόλαστα τῶν ζώων καὶ γαστρίμαργα· εἰ δὲ μηδὲ αἰσθήσει μετὰ τούτων, ἀλλὰ νωθεῖα αἰσθήσεως μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ φυτά. μόνον γὰρ τοῦτο ἡ μάλιστα ἐνήργει τὸ φυτικόν, καὶ ἦν αὐτοῖς μελέτη δενδρωθῆναι. τοὺς δὲ φιλομούσους μὲν, καθαρίους δὲ τὰ ἄλλα εἰς τὰ ᾤδικά. τοὺς δὲ ἀλόγως βασιλέας, ἀετοὺς, εἰ μὴ ἄλλη κακία παρείη. μετεωρολόγους δὲ ἄνευ φρονήσεως, εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν αἰεὶ αἰρομένους, εἰς ὄρνεις μετεώρους ταῖς πτήσεσιν· ὁ δὲ τὴν πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν, ἄνθρωπος· ὁ δὲ ἥττον ἀρετῆς πολιτικῆς μετέχων, πολιτικὸν ζῶον, ἡ μέλιττα ἢ τὰ τοιαῦτα. Bouillet in a foot note on the above cited passage of Augustine says, "Plotin n' affirme pas que les âmes humaines passent dans le corps des bêtes" (*Les Ennéades de Plotin*. French translation. Paris 1859, vol. 2. p. 534). Bouillet, however, seems to refer only to Enn. 1. 1. 12, but the same can hardly be said of Enn. 3. 4. 2. cited above.

III. AUGUSTINE'S KNOWLEDGE OF GREEK.

The question as to the extent of Augustine's acquaintance with Greek necessarily projects itself into any investigation of his sources. Was his knowledge of Greek so rudimentary and limited as to be of no practical use to him? Or was he so thoroughly versed in Greek literature as to be able to consult at pleasure any writer in that language whom he pleased? Or, while not so rudimentary as to be of no service, and not so comprehensive as to give freedom, was it such that in case of necessity he could consult a Greek author? Each of these views has had advocates. The one extreme view has been adopted by Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, chap. 33, vol. 3, p. 407 in Bury's edition): "According to the judgment of the most impartial critics the superficial learning of Augustine was confined to the Latin language." For the opposite view we may cite the words of Augustine's Benedictine panegyrists (*Vita Augustini* i. 2. 5, works BE, vol. i. 69):

Ea tamen quantulumcumque Graeci sermonis notitia quam sibi comparaverat usque adeo feliciter usus est, ut nisi ipse pro innata modestia eius serudem professus esset, litteris Graecis ad prime eruditus videri potuisset. Nam legit Epiphanii commentarium de haeresibus aut certe breviarium eius nondum Latinitate donatum. Deinde aliorum patrum Graecorum libros pervolvit e quibus testimonia non pauca deprompsit adversus haereticos: denique crebra Graecarum vocum interpretatio quae passim in eius opusculis occurrit, ac complurium Scripturae locorum ex collatione

codicum Graecorum cum Latinis restitutio documento esse possunt Augustinum haud ita mediocriter Graece scivisse—though it will appear later that this view is not so extreme as some consider it. To decide between such opposite views, to accept one or the other or to reject both, we propose to ask and answer two questions: (1) What does Augustine himself say as to his knowledge of Greek? and (2) to what extent do Augustine's works show a use of Greek?

I. WHAT DOES AUGUSTINE HIMSELF SAY ABOUT HIS KNOWLEDGE OF GREEK?

Compare Conf. i. 13. 20, Quid autem erat causae cur Graecas litteras oderam quibus puerulus imbuebar, ne nunc quidem mihi satis exploratum est. Adamveram enim Latinas non quas primi magistri sed quas docent qui grammatici vocantur. Nam illas primas ubi legere et scribere et numerare discitur, non minus onerosas poenalesque habebam quam omnes Graecas; again i. 14. 23, Cur ergo Graecam etiam grammaticam oderam talia cantantem? Nam et Homerus peritus texere tales fabellas et dulcissime vanus est et mihi tamen amarus erat puero. Here Augustine is speaking solely of his early boyhood and schoolboy days. Many who afterwards became proficient in Greek have felt just as Augustine felt on their first introduction to the elements of Greek. And Augustine does not here speak as one who so hated Greek that he never learned it. He looks back with surprise to his early days and wonders why it was he did not like Greek (ne nunc quidem mihi satis exploratum est). Besides he seems to have been disgusted with the methods employed by his teacher (nulla enim verba illa nov-

eram et saevis terroribus ac poenis ut nossem instabatur mihi vehementer. Conf. 1. 14. 23). We know, however, from the above citation that he read Homer at school, however distasteful the task was.

In De Trin. prooemium 3. 1, we read, Quod si ea quae legimus de his rebus, sufficienter edita in Latino sermone aut non sunt aut non inveniuntur, aut certe difficile a nobis inveniri queunt, Graecae autem linguae non sit nobis tantus habitus, ut talium rerum libris legendis et intelligendis ullo modo reperiamur idonei, quo genere litterarum ex iis quae nobis pauca interpretata sunt, non dubito cuncta quae utiliter quaerere possumus contineri. In these words Augustine means that his knowledge of Greek was not sufficient for him to read the Greek fathers who had written on subjects connected with the Trinity. The passage certainly implies some acquaintance with Greek, and that rather limited. We may well suppose that in such an important work as the De Trinitate, on which the author spent so many years, he would have read the Greek fathers, who excelled in this very subject, if his knowledge of Greek had been by any means sufficient to the task. Augustine evidently did not find himself at home in the vast field of Greek theological writings. It is only fair to state, however, that a piece of Greek on such an abstract and difficult subject as the Trinity would not be the easiest kind of reading for one like Augustine, with his limited knowledge of that language.

Contra Litteras Petiliani 2. 38. 91, et ego quidem Graecae linguae perparum assecutus sum et prope nihil: non tamen impudenter dico me nosse ὅλον non esse unum sed totum, et καθ' ὅλον secundum totum. Augustine uses these words in a contro-

versy, and no doubt there is some modesty in them. He frankly confesses he knows very little about Greek, just enough for his present purpose. So much for what Augustine says himself about his knowledge of Greek, from which we would conclude that while he was not a master of that tongue, and while he did not claim to know much about Greek, he could use it somewhat when necessary. If we can prove that his knowledge of Greek was neither exact nor extensive, his own words also prove that he has made no such pretension.

These three are the only passages where Augustine comments *directly* on his own knowledge of Greek.

II. TO WHAT EXTENT DO AUGUSTINE'S WORKS SHOW A KNOWLEDGE OF GREEK?

We turn now to ask to what extent do Augustine's works show a knowledge of Greek? What use did he make of what amount of Greek he knew? Does an investigation in this matter prove that Augustine knew more or knew less Greek than he himself has stated, as we have seen above?

1. First, let us examine Augustine's use of Latin translations from Greek authors. In Conf. 8. 2. 3 he says *commemoravi legisse me quosdam libros Platoniorum, quos Victorinus quondam rhetor urbis Romae . . . in Latinam linguam transtulisset*, which books he had mentioned previously as having in his possession: *quosdam Platoniorum libros ex Graeca lingua in Latinam versos* (7. 9. 13).

Here we may pause to ask who are the Platonici, or Neoplatonists, to whom Augustine refers in these words? In DCD, VIII. 12 he gives the chief Greek Platonists as Plotinus Iamblichus and Porphyrius. Of an acquaintance with the works of Iamblichus we find no trace whatever in the writings of Augustine. Loesche (*De Augustino Plotinizante in doctrina de Deo*, p. 26) says *Tum Iamblichum semel tantum nominatum vix degustasse videtur*. So also Grandgeorge (*Saint Augustin et le Néoplatonisme*, p. 100) says *Augustin ne connaît pas Iamblique*.

platonisme, p. 41). The other important Neoplatonist whom Augustine mentions is Apuleius, whose works are in Latin. From the above statements, and from the fact that Augustine so frequently mentions, and cites from the writings of Plotinus and Porphyry, we may safely decide that these are the Neoplatonist writers whose works he read through the Latin version of Victorinus. We should expect that if Augustine had had an easy reading knowledge of Greek he could not have failed to read or at least occasionally consult in the original the writings in which was embodied the system of philosophy to which he himself was so much attached, and from the influence of which he never escaped; and specially is this so when we consider that the original Greek of Porphyry and Plotinus was far better suited to express philosophic ideas and abstract subtilties than was the Latin of his version. We should thus expect Augustine to have used Plotinus and Porphyry in the original (had his knowledge of Greek been sufficient) as a modern English-speaking scholar reads French and German treatises.

We ask next whether Augustine read Plato and did he read him in the original? The writings of Plato cannot be included in the *quosdam libros Platoniorum quos Victorinus . . . in linguam Latinam transtulisset*. Nor have we the slightest suggestion from any source that the same Victorinus translated the works of Plato. In fact we can find no trace whatever of any complete Latin version of Plato in the days of Augustine. We know that Cicero translated and paraphrased portions of Plato. Did Augustine then read Plato for himself and in the original? There is one passage from which we might feel tempted to infer that he did so, namely *De beata vita* i. 4: *Sed ne in philosophiae gremium celeriter advolare, fateor uxoris honorisque illecebra detinebar; ut cum haec essem consecutum demum me, quod paucis felicissimis licuit, totis velis omnibusque*

remis in illum sinum raperem ibique conquiescerem. Lectis autem Platonis paucissimis libris, cuius te esse studiosissimum accepi, collataque cum eis, quantum potui, etiam illorum auctoritate qui divina mysteria tradiderunt. We cannot, however, build an argument for Augustine's direct knowledge of Plato (or portions of Plato) on this passage when we take into account the fact that five manuscripts read *Plotini* for *Platonis*. Even apart from this, and taking the passage as it stands, this single statement may not count for much, being unsupported by any other direct or indirect references, and other considerations must be given due weight. Augustine's knowledge of Plato is more general than specific, nor is it so great as is generally supposed. His knowledge of the doctrines and philosophy of Plato is such as he could well derive from an intimate acquaintance (such as he had) with the Neo-platonist philosophers. These latter who revived Plato and sought to re-establish his influence in the form of Neo-platonism had of necessity to bring forward again the fundamental teachings of their master. From this source Augustine could derive a very considerable second-hand knowledge of Plato: and many of the doctrines of Plato which he mentions and discusses are common to Plato and to the Neo-platonists, and he found them chiefly in Plotinus. This has been well stated by Grandgeorge (Saint Augustin et le Néo-platonisme, Paris 1896, chap. I, p. 53) "les doctrines dont il s'agit étaient pour la plupart communes à Platon et aux néo-platoniciens, et les ressemblances que l'on signale avec Platon se retrouvent pour Plotin. Que reste-t-il donc du Platonisme de Saint Augustin? Peu de choses si l'on recherche ce qui, en lui, a été exclusivement inspiré par Platon et son école proprement dite; des ressemblances assez grandes, une impulsion assez considérable si l'on considère ce que ses théories offrent de commun avec le platonisme et le néo-platonisme." In addition to the knowledge of Plato derived from Neo-platonism, no doubt Platonism itself as a system was dis-

cussed in the schools in the days of Augustine, and thus he would have the opportunity of learning the teachings of Plato from the lectures of his professors. Even if Platonism or the system of Plato was not discussed in and for itself, it must of necessity have been studied, at least in its elements, as an introduction to Neo-platonism. We may conclude then that Augustine derived his knowledge of Plato, not from the original Greek, and also not from any complete Latin version, but from versions of some portions of Plato such as those made by Cicero, (as for example the *Timaeus*, which Augustine tells us he quotes: *Nempe Platonis haec verba sunt, sicut ea Cicero in Latinum vertit*. DCD. XIII. 16, p. 575. 17) from the writings of Cicero in general, who often discusses Plato, and informs us of his doctrines, as in the now lost *Hortensius* (which must be regarded as a chief source of Augustine's knowledge of philosophy; see *Literary Sources*, p. 23), from such of the fathers as Lactantius, from his intimate acquaintance with the translated writings and theories of the Neo-Platonists, especially of Plotinus, and from the discussions on Plato and Platonism in the schools of his day. From Apuleius also he derived some knowledge of Plato, and probably also from the *De philosophia* of Varro, with which Augustine was familiar, as we learn from DCD XIX. 1-3.

Returning to our subject—Augustine's use of translations—from *de Haeresibus* 83, we learn that Augustine read the Church history of Eusebius in the Latin translation of Rufinus: *Cum Eusebii historiam scrutatus essem, cui Rufinus a se in Latinam linguam translatae subsequentium etiam temporum duos libros addidit*. In a letter to Jerome (Ep. 28. 2) he requests the latter to send to North Africa a translation of the Greek commentators in order that he may be able to consult them in a Latin version: *Petimus ergo et nobiscum petit omnis Africanarum ecclesiarum studiosa societas, ut interpretandis eorum libris*

qui Graece Scripturas nostras quam optime tractaverunt, curam atque operam impendere non graveris. Potes enim efficere ut nos quoque habeamus tales illos viros, et unum potissimum quem tu in tuis litteris sonas. In this case a translation was not at hand, yet Augustine preferred to send to Jerome for such rather than to attempt the Greek commentators himself.

When he quotes Homer, it is in a Latin version, as in DCD V. 8: illi quoque versus Homerici . . . quos Cicero in Latinum vertit.

From the above citations we see that Augustine on all ordinary occasions preferred a Latin version when he could get it. The fact that Augustine shows this propensity for using translations, taken by itself, would lead us to think he knew very little about Greek, but we cannot draw a complete conclusion from this single feature alone.

2. Second. In regard to Augustine's use of Greek words and phrases. There are many such scattered through his works. Compare DCD IV. 21, quod Graece ἀρετὴ dicitur virtus; V. 21, servitutem religionis quam λατρείαν Graeci vocant; VI. 5. μῦθος Graece fabula dicitur; VII. 1, deitatem—θεότητα; VII. 6, mundi quem Graeci vocant κόσμον; VII. 8, palatum Graeci οὐρανὸν appellant. VII. 35, νεκριομαντείαν (or νεκρομαντείαν). So also VIII. 7, ἐννοίας; VIII. 17, πάθος; X. 1, θρησκεία, εὐσέβειαν, θεοσέβειαν, λατρεία. X. 28, πατρικὸν νοῦν id est paternam mentem sive intellectum. XI. 13, φλέγμα; XIII. 24, πνεῦμα, πνοή. In De Haeres. 4, he gives the numerical equivalents of the letters composing the cabbalistic word ἀβρασαξ; in 17 he explains Ophitae from ὄφεις; 51, ὁμοιούσιον; 52, Πνευματομάχους; 57, εὐχίται ab orando sic appellati; in 63 he explains Passalorynchitae by πάσσαλος enim Graece dicitur palus et ῥύγχος nasus,

cum Graece et dicatur digitus δάκτυλος—Dactylorynchitae. De Trin. 4. 10. 13, τελετας; ibid. 14. 1. 1, θεοσέβεια; ibid. 4. 21. 31, adhibito spiritu etiam rationali vel intellectuali—hoc enim quibusdam placuit appellare quod Graeci dicunt νοερόν. Enarr. in Ps. 118, sermo 17. 2, disciplinam quam Graeci appellant παιδείαν; ibid. sermo 11. 6, πλέον enim Latine plus est: ἕξις habitus est.... a plus habendo appellata est πλεονεξία; ibid. φιλαργυρία quo verbo significatur amor pecuniae; Sermo. 45. 5, evangelium enim Latine bonus nuntius est; Sermo 207. 1, Eleemosyna quippe Graece misericordia est; De Gen. ad litteram 2. 17. 35, experimenta quae illi ἀποτελέσματα vocant: Enarr. in Ps. 77. 1, Propositiones autem quae Graece appellantur προβλήματα. In DCD XVIII. 23 Augustine translates Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ υἱὸς σωτήρ quod est Latine Iesus Christus Dei filius salvator, and in the same chapter he explains the mystic monogram ἰχθύς. Such are examples of Augustine's knowledge of Greek words and their derivations.

He was also able to distinguish between the Greek synonyms, e. g: Enarr. in Ps. 118, sermo 4. 1, he says ἄγαν is equivalent to nimis, and σφόδρα to valde. In Quaest. in Hept. 1. 65 (Gen. 24. 41) ὄρκος enim dicitur 'iuratio,' ἀρὰ 'maledictum.' In DCD X. 1 he distinguishes λατρεία, θρησκεία εὐσέβεια and θεοσέβεια. In Ep. 197. 2 he distinguishes χρόνους from καιροὺς: Nostri autem utrumque hoc verbum tempora appellant sive χρόνους sive καιροὺς, cum habeant haec duo inter se non neglegendam differentiam: καιροὺς quippe appellant Graeci tempora quaedam, non tamen quae in spatiorum voluminibus transeunt, sed quae in rebus ad ali-

quid opportunis vel importunis sentiuntur, sicut messis vindemia calor frigus pax bellum et si qua similia: χρόνους autem ipsa spatia temporum vocant. This cannot be said to be a superficial distinction on the part of Augustine; he thoroughly understood how to discriminate these two words. He also knew the difference between *ζωή* and *βίος*: quam vitam Graeci non *ζωήν* sed *βίον* vocant, De Trin. 12. 7. 11. DCD XIII. 24 Quod itaque Graece *πνοή* dicitur nostri aliquando 'flatum,' aliquando 'inspirationem' vel 'aspirationem,' quando etiam Dei dicitur, interpretati sunt; *πνεῦμα* vero numquam nisi 'spiritum' sive hominis . . . sive pecoris . . . sive istum corporeum, qui etiam ventus dicitur. In Quaest. in Lev. 51 he distinguishes between *σκεῦος* (hoc enim nomen generale est omnium utensilium) and *ἄγγεῖον* (nam et hoc Latina lingua 'vas' dicitur, sed *ἄγγεῖον* illud magis intelligitur vas quod liquorem capit); in Quaest. in Num. 3, between *ἀλλογενής* and *ἀλλόφυλος*. In Quaest. in Deut. 23 he says 'parere' quippe est *τίκτειν* quod est ex femina . . . 'gignere' autem est *γεννᾶν*. In Locut. in Gen. 48. 1 *δῆμος*=plebs, *ὄχλος*=turba. In Locut. in Gen. 50. 2 he distinguishes between *ἐνταφιάσαι* and *θάψαι*. These instances are only a small part of what might be cited—all of like tenor. All such instances show is that Augustine knew many Greek words with their Latin equivalents, and was fairly well able to distinguish between synonyms. His etymologies are, of course, crude, even when they are correct, as is usually the case.

3. Third. We now pass to a more interesting topic, namely, Augustine's use of Greek in his exegetical works. We begin with the Quaestiones in Heptateuchum. From the opening

words of the prooemium we learn that Augustine consulted the Septuagint: Cum Scripturas sanctas, quae appellantur canonicae, legendo et cum aliis codicibus secundum Septuaginta interpretationem conferendo percurreremus In Quaest. in Hept. 1. 11 (Gen. 7. 24) he mentions the versions of Aquila and Symmachus, but we cannot find evidence for his having consulted them in Greek: nam Aquila dixit 'obtinueit,' Symmachus 'praevaluerunt;'. ibid 1. 43 (Gen. 19. 11) caecitate: Graeci habent ἀορασία quod magis significat, si dici possit, 'avidentia' Hoc ἀορασία et illi percussi sunt qui quaerebant Elisaeum. Here Augustine not only consulted the LXX on the passage in question, and showed that the Greek word expressed more than the word representing it in the Latin version, but he also found the word ἀορασία occurred in another place in the LXX (4 Reg. 6. 18) of a similar kind of blindness. Ibid. 1.65 (Gen. 24.41) Latini codices... 'a iuramento meo,' vel, 'iuratione mea,' Graeci habent 'a maledicto meo'; ὄρκος enim dicitur 'iuratio,' ἀρὰ 'maledictum.' Here he examined the LXX ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρᾶς μου; ibid. 1. 69 (Gen. 24. 63) exerceri: qui verbum de hac re Graecum nesciunt, exercitationem corporis putant. Scriptum est autem Graece ἀδολεσχῆσαι: ἀδολεσχεῖν vero ad animi exercitationem pertinet, et saepe vitio deputatur. ibid 1. 74 (Gen. 25. 27) homo simplex: Quod Graece dicitur ἁπλοστος hoc Latini 'simplicem' interpretati sunt: proprie autem ἁπλοστος 'non fictus,' unde aliqui Latini interpretes 'sine dolo' interpretati sunt. ibid. 1.80 (Gen. 27. 33) Quod habent Latini codices 'expavit autem Isaac pavore magno

valde,' Graeci habent ἐξέστη δὲ Ἰσαὰκ ἔκστασιν
 μεγάλην σφόδρα. *ibid.* 1. 82 (Gen. 28. 2) Latini codices
 'vade' Graeci codices non
 habent 'vade' sed 'fuge,' hoc est,
 ἀπόδραθι. *ibid.* 1. 91. (Gen. 30. 11) beata vel felix
 facta sum: Graeci habent εὐτύχη quod
 magis bonam fortunam significat. In
 this same place, however, Augustine falls into the mistake of
 deriving τάχα from τύχη. *Ibid.* 1. 93 (Gen. 37. 42) he also
 consulted the LXX: quod tanto obscurius,
 quanto brevius a Septuaginta dictum
 est. *ibid.* 1. 105 (Gen. 33. 10) maxime quia
 sine articulo in Graeco dictum est;
 quo articulo evidentissime solet veri
 Dei unius fieri significatio: non
 enim dixit πρόσωπον τοῦ θεοῦ, sed dixit πρόσωπον
 θεοῦ. Facile autem hoc intelligunt
 qua distantia dicatur qui Graecorum
 eloquium audire atque intelligere
 solent. This distinction mentioned shows some critical
 observation on the part of Augustine in the use of the LXX.
 In *ibid.* 1. 117. 1 (Gen. 35. 26) he says that some would read
 facti sunt instead of nati sunt according to the
 LXX ἐγένοντο. In *ibid.* 1. 132 (Gen. 41. 1) he compares the
 ἐπὶ τῆς πηγῆς of Gen. 24. 13 with the ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ of the pas-
 sage on which he is commenting. *ibid.* 1. 152 (Gen. 46,
 26-27)—on this disputed passage he again consults the LXX.

Less important passages in the first book of Quaest. in
 Hept. are 31. 70. 108. 127. 131. 136.

From this examination of the Quaest. in Gen. we would
 infer that Augustine throughout consulted the LXX.

We find the same phenomena in the Quaestiones in Exo-
 dum. Compare Quaest. in Ex. 47 (Ex. 12. 37), where Au-
 gustine consulted the LXX. πλὴν τῆς ἀποσκευῆς, a eter
 instructum' vel 'censum.' He remarks that
 the same word is used in Gen. 43. 8, where it is rendered by
 substantia. In Quaest. 66 (Ex. 18. 12) he quotes the

LXX. ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ. Again Quaest. in Ex. 78 (Ex. 21. 8), Quod si in Graeco dictum esset ἀπολυτρώσεται scriptum esset sicut scriptum est 'Et ipse redimet Israel;' nam et ἀπολυτρώσεται scriptum est. In hoc autem loco ἀπολυτρώσει legitur. Quaest. in Ex. 94 (Ex. 23. 35), Hic Graecus δουλεύσης habet non λατρεύσης. In Quaest. in Ex. 114 (Ex. 28. 3) he would correct the Latin version which gave intellectus instead of sensus for αἰσθήσεως. In Quaest. 116 (Ex. 28. 22) he notices rationale is the usual translation of λογικόν, not of λόγιον which the LXX here gives. Quaest. 131 (Ex. 30. 4), in duo latera facies in duobus lateribus; quoniam Graecus habet εἰς τὰ δύο κλίτη ποιήσεις ἐν τοῖς δυσὶ πλευροῖς. Nam κλίτη latera sunt, et πλευρὰ latera sunt. Unde quidam Latini sic interpretati sunt, 'In duas partes facies in duobus lateribus.' Non autem ait Graecus μέρη quod est 'partes' sed κλίτη quod 'latera.' He then says that the same word κλίτη is found in Ps. 127. 3 (ἐν κλίτεσι τῆς οἰκίας σου). Quaest. 151, Graecus habet γνωστῶς, hoc quidam Latini interpretati sunt 'manifeste,' cum Scriptura non dixerit φανερώς. Potuit ergo fortasse aptius dici.... 'scienter.' In Quaest. 154 (Ex. 33. 19) he comments on the Latin rendering of the two words ἐλεήσω and οἰκτειρήσω of the LXX. Quaest. 157 (Ex. 34. 12), Non enim habet Graecus 'nequando ponas' sed 'ne quando ponat.' Quaest. 168, 'Demptionem' sane interpretati sunt Latini quod Graecus habet ἀφαίρεμα.

For the other instances of the employment of the Septuagint in the Quaest. in Ex. not noticed above see Quaestiones 11, 42, 43, 50, 80, 86, 98, 104, 109, 115, 117, 118, 120, 132, 133, 150, 177: 1. 2. 9. 17 (on the tabernacle.)

Thus we find in the Quaestiones in Exodum a more frequent comparison of the Latin version with the Septuagint rendering.

In the Quaestiones in Leviticum (Quaest. in Hept., book 3) we do not find the LXX used to the same extent, but we do find it used often enough to lead us to infer that Augustine had that version before him throughout. Compare Quaest. in Lev. 15 (Lev. 6. 20), 'post meridiem' quod Graecus habet δειλινὸν.... fresa si tamen hoc recte interpretatum est ex illo quod Graecus habet ἐρικτὰ. Quaest. 29 (Lev. 9. 24) 'amens factus est': quod alii interpretes dixerunt 'expavit' conantes transferre de Graeco quod dictum est ἐξέστη unde ἔκστασις dicitur. Quaest. 38 (Lev. 11. 47) quae Graecus habet ζωογονοῦντα nostri quidam 'vivificantia' interpretari maluerunt. Quaest. 40 (Lev. 12. 6) Merito ergo quidam nostri interpretati sunt.... ut non dicerent 'super filio aut super filia'. Hanc enim vim huius praepositionis esse intellexerunt hoc loco, ubi Graecus ait ἐφ' υἱῷ ἢ ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ. Quaest. 41 (Lev. 13. 20), sed potuit et Graecus non dicere ἀφήν, id est 'tactum' sed μῶμον, id est 'maculam.' Quaest. 50 (Lev. 13. 48) Sed non ait Graecus ἐργασμένῳ δέρματι, ait autem ἐργασίμῳ. He then goes on to note that the latter word is also used in the book of Kings (1 Reg. 20. 19) in die operaria (ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐργασίμῃ).

Quaest. 90 (Lev. 25. 23) is a fair example of textual criticism on the part of Augustine: 'in profanationem'. Alii codices habent 'in confirmationem', quam mendositatem in alterutris prius in Graeco accidissem arbitror propter verbi similem

sonum, βεβήλωσις enim 'profanatio' dicitur, βεβαιώσις autem 'confirmatio.'

For the other instances of Augustine's use of Greek in the Quaestiones in Leviticum not mentioned above see Quaest. 2, 11, 17, 20, 25, 34, 35, 43, 51, 53, 54, 55, 66.

In the Quaestiones in Numeros (Quaest. in Hept. 4) it is evident that he consulted the Septuagint there also, though the instances are not so numerous as in the Quaestiones on Genesis and on Exodus and on Leviticus. In Quaest. 1 (Num. 1. 16) he wonders why the tribal officers are called χιλιαρχοι in the Greek, his difficulty seeming to be the derivation of the word according to which such officers should be over only a thousand. Quaest. 3, Mirum est autem quomodo abusive alienigena dicitur. . . . ἀλλογενής et non magis ἀλλόφυλος, quod significat alterius tribus hominem; quonamine magis utitur Scriptura in aliarum gentium hominibus. Here Augustine shows that he was indeed aware of the different meanings of these two Greek words in the LXX. Quaest. 11 (Num. 5. 51) Graecus habet ἐνόρκιον quo verbo videtur significari 'iuramentum per execrationem.' We have another example of textual criticism in Quaest. 28 (Num. 16. 30) 'In visione' ostendet Deus. . . . Quidam interpretati sunt 'in hiatu' ostendet Dominus; credo putantes dictum χάσματι, quod Graece positum φάσματι. Quaest. 39, Quam dixit superius 'aquam contradictionis,' ipsam dicit hic 'maledictionis', non enim ait ἀντιλογίας sed λοιδορίας. In Quaest. 41 (Num. 26. 3) he gives the derivation of ἀνάθεμα—ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄνω τιθέναι.

The other instances of the use of Greek in this book will be found in Quaest. 4, 14, 49, 52, 55. We see that, although Augustine had the LXX version before his eyes all

through, he mentions its readings only twelve times in the Quaest. in Numeros.

Still less frequently does he mention it in the Quaest. in Deut. (Quaest. in Hept. 5). Quaest. 23 (Deut. 15. 19), *πρωτότοκον*. Quaest. 39 (Deut. 24. 7), where he would correct *Auferte malum ex vobis ipsis* by showing that the Greek reads *τὸν πονηρὸν* not *τὸ πονηρὸν*, as the latter was represented in Latin by *hoc malignum* and the former by *hunc malignum*. Quaest. 52 (Deut. 29. 19) *ἀναμάρτητον*. Quaest. 55 (Deut. 32. 5) *Quod est in Graeco τέκνα μωμητά*. Thus there are four references to the Septuagint in the Quaestiones in Deut.

There are the same number (four) of references to the Septuagint in the Quaestiones in Iesum Nave (Quaest. in Hept. 6). Compare Quaest. 4 (Ios. 4. 7) *ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος*. In Quaest. 12 (Ios. 9. 4) an instance occurs worth citing: *Nonnulli codices et Graeci et Latini habent.... 'super humeros suos,' alii vero qui veraciores videntur non habent 'super humeros' sed 'super asinos.'* Similitudo enim verbi in Graeca lingua mendositatem facilem fecit.... ὧμων quippe et ὄνων non multum ab invicem dissonant. In Quaest. 19 (Ios. 16. 10) he thinks the latter half of the verse has been added by the Septuagint interpreters after the event, as indeed it is found in the LXX, but not in the Hebrew or in Jerome's version. In Quaest. 24 (Ios. 23. 14) he would correct the *recurro viam* of the Itala to *percurro* or *excurro* from the LXX ἀποτρέχω.

In the Quaestiones in Iudices (Quaest. in Hept. 7) we find a similar employment of the LXX version. In Quaest. 41 he gives the Greek words for *Epub* or *Ephud* though they do not occur in the verses on which he is writing. Compare also Quaest. 45 (Iud 9. 23) where he notes that the Greek word which occurs in that verse occurs also in Ps. 42. 3, where it is translated *emitte* as in the Itala of Iud. 9. 23.

From the above investigation in the Quaestiones in Hept. we see that Augustine used the Septuagint, more or less, throughout; that he could consult it intelligently, give the different shades of meaning of different Greek words, that he attempted elementary textual criticism on it, that he could amend or justify the Latin versions by comparing them with it.

We next take up the seven books of the Locutiones in Heptateuchum in which we find similar phenomena with the above in the Quaestiones in Heptateuchum. Compare Locut. in Gen. 3. 1, in Graeco scriptum est φρονιμώτατος non σοφώτατος, which shows that he must have looked up the LXX. Again Locut. in Gen. 3. 15 Graeci habent 'in medio tui et in medio mulieris,' where he had consulted the Greek (ἀνὰ μέσον σοῦ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς γυναικός). The other instances in this book are Locut. in Gen. 3. 17; 6. 6, in Graeco invenitur διανοήθη, quod magis, 'recognovit,' quam 'poenituit' significare perhibetur. Note that here Augustine does not positively and on his own authority make this statement but falls back on a perhibetur. 6. 14, Graeci nec 'in arcam' nec 'in arca' habent, sed 'nidos facies arcam'; 6. 16, 'ex transverso' . . . quod Graece dicitur ἐκ πλαγίων; 7. 4; 7. 4; 10. 9; 14. 22 fefellit interpretem quod Graecus habet σπαρτίον quod Latine 'filum' intelligitur, as it is translated in Jerome's version. 16. 4; 17. 8; 24. 16; 26. 28; 33. 13 habent Latini codices 'Et oves et boves fetantur,' Graeci habent 'fetantur super me,' as indeed the LXX has ἐπ' ἐμέ; 34. 29, Graeci σωμάτια servos appellant usitatissima locutione, sed quia non σωμάτια sed σώματα dictum est; 43. 18, where on the Itala: ut accipias nos in servos et asinos nostros he comments non utique subauditur 'servos,' nam quod Latini cod-

ices 'servos' habent, in Graecis παῖδας legitur, quod nullo modo asini possunt esse. 44. 9; 48. 1; 48. 18; 50. 2 non invenit lingua Latina quemadmodum appellaret ἐνταφιαστὰς : non enim ipsi 'sepeliunt,' id est, 'terrae mandant corpora' mortuorum quod non est Graece ἐνταφιάσαι sed θάψαι. Illi ergo ἐνταφιασταὶ id agunt quod exhibetur corporibus humanis.

In the Locutiones de Exodo (Locut. in Hept. 2) we find a similar and frequent use of the LXX version. Compare Locut. in Ex. 1. 22; 3. 22; 4. 5 Graecus non habet 'Et dixit illi,' sed continuo adiunxit 'Ut credant,' as the LXX of the verse does thus begin (ἵνα πιστεύσωσί σοι). 4. 6 Graecus non habet 'leprosa' sed tantum 'facta est tamquam nix' (ἐγενήθη . . . ὥσεὶ χιόν). 5. 21; 6. 5 On terram quam incoluerunt in qua et incoluerunt in ea, he says sic enim habet Graecus quod utique et in Graeca lingua absurde videtur sonare, et tamen Septuaginta interpretum auctoritas tanta est quos ita loqui non piguit. Here he had before him the Greek τὴν γῆν ἣν παρῴκηκασιν ἐν ἣ καὶ παρῴκησαν ἐπ' αὐτῆς. 6. 12; 7. 11; 7. 15; 8. 3; 8. 16 aggerem terrae . . . τὸ χῶμα τῆς γῆς. 10. 23 Quod Latini habent 'Et nemo vidit fratrem suum tribus diebus,' Graecus habet 'Et non vidit nemo fratrem suum.' This shows us that in Augustine's LXX the words τρεῖς ἡμέρας were not found, as they are wanting in the Alexandrine MS. and in some others. 12. 7; 15. 1 sic enim habet Graecus καὶ εἶπαν λέγειν. 20. 24; 21. 6. In 28. 24 (LXX 28. 29) he falls into a mistake joining τὰ ἀλυσιδωτὰ with the preceding words τοὺς

κρωσσόνς, instead of joining them with the succeeding words ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων.

In the Locutiones de Levitico (Locut. in Hept. 3) there is a less frequent use of the Septuagint, though it has still been used. Compare Locut. de Lev. 5. 10 quod ibi habet αὐτῷ; 11. 9; 12. 1 Graecus ἐνὶ μὲν habet καὶ ἐρεῖς πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγων. 12. 2; 13. 46 ait enim Graecus ἀκάθαρτος ὢν ἀκάθαρτος ἔσται, quasi diceret 'immundus existens immundus erit.'

So also in the Locutiones de Numeris (Locut. in Hept. 4). 14. 35 Quaerendum est sane quid sit quod Graece positum est ἢ μὴν, nostri enim interpretes hoc paene ubique interpretati sunt 'nisi'; 15. 28 Et ideo 'invita' positum est, quia Latine non potuit exprimi quod Graece dictum est ἀκουσιασθείσης, non enim potuit dici nolentata; 18. 6 δόμα δεδομένον. 20. 30; 29. 1.

In the Locutiones de Deuteronomio (Locut. in Hept. 5) we find the LXX used to about the same extent. Compare Locut. de Deut. 11. 3; 11. 14; 15. 6; 28. 48; 28. 54 where he refers to the LXX of Prov. 23. 6; Graecus habet ἀνδρὶ βασκάνῳ; βάσκανος autem fascinus dicitur. 28. 63; 31. 29 uno verbo autem Graece dicitur 'iniquitatem facietis' quod est ἀνομήσετε. 32. 14.

In the Locutiones de Iesu Nave there is only one recorded instance of the employment of the Septuagint, viz: 8. 18 on Extende manum tuam in gaeso. Hoc interpres Symmachus 'scutum' appellatione perhibetur. Septuaginta autem interpretes, secundum quos ista tractamus, qui posuerunt 'gaeson,' miror si et in Graeca lingua 'hastam' vel 'lanceam' Gallicanam intelligi voluerunt. This is an important passage, though the only one in the book in which the Septuagint is mentioned.

We learn from it that the Septuagint was the norm of authority for Augustine. Moreover, he informs us that here at least he was not acquainted first-hand with the version of Symmachus (*Symmachus perhibetur*).

Similarly in the *Locutiones de Iudicibus* (*Locut. in Hept.* 7). Compare 3. 21; 4. 16; 4. 18 *sic enim habet Graecus* ἐν τῇ δέῃρει αὐτῆς. 7. 12.

Thus both in the *Quaestiones* and *Locutiones* in *Hept.* Augustine would seem to have had a copy of the LXX before him, and to have made frequent reference to it. He evidently consulted it throughout in these seven books; and has only mentioned its readings where he thought them noteworthy.

We shall observe the same use of the Septuagint version in Augustine's other and much larger exegetical work—the *Enarrationes* in *Psalmos*. Compare *Ennar. in Ps.* 3. 5 ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκοιμήθην καὶ ὑπνώσα. 4. 6; 6. 3; 9. 7; 67. 19; 67. 41; 71. 8; 71. 17; 71. 21; 77. 18 quoniam in Graecis codicibus non ἐνεπόδισεν quod est 'impedivit,' sed συνεπόδισεν legimus quod est potius 'compedivit,' 87. 7 Quod enim Graece positum est θυμὸς diverse interpretati sunt nostri. Nam ubi Graeci codices habent ὀργή ibi 'iram' Latine dicere nullus fere dubitavit interpres; ubi autem θυμὸς positum est plerique non putaverunt 'iram' esse dicendam.... In alio psalmo (41. 8).... fluctus tui super me ingressi sunt, vel sicut quidam melius transtulerunt 'super me transierunt;' διήλθον enim est in Graeco, non εἰσῆλθον. 92. 6; 98. 9; 105. 2; 105. 31; 118 sermo 4. 1; 118. 11. 6; 118. 14. 4; 118. 15. 5; *ibid.* 15. 8; 118. 24. 7; 118. 26. 2; 118. 28. 4; 118. 29. 3; 119. 1; 123. 8; 135 1.

Augustine, according to the above citations and references, seems to have had the Septuagint at hand in writing his great commentary on the Psalms, and though he did not mention it

so frequently as we should suppose he would, still he *does* mention it enough to give us to know he could use it.

When we turn from the three works of Augustine which we have been considering above to his commentary on the book of Job we are rather disappointed to find no reference to the Septuagint, and evidently no use made of that version in this work. This concludes our investigation of Augustine's use of Greek, especially of the Septuagint, in his writings on the Old Testament books. Though he does not seem to have employed it for Job, yet from the Quaestiones in Hept. and the Locutiones in Hept. and the Enarrationes in Psalmos we know he employed the Septuagint version. In fact he seems to have had it before him and to have consulted it often in the course of those writings. He was not only able to read it, but, to some extent, to use it critically and to verify or emend his Latin version from its text. In face of all this we cannot understand how Dr. Philip Schaff wrote: "But in his exegetical and other works he very rarely consults the Septuagint or Greek Testament, and was content with the very imperfect Itala or the improved version of Jerome." (Church History, vol. 2, p. 1001, footnote, and repeated in The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol. 1, prolegomena p. 9, footnote).

Next we ask did Augustine make use of the New Testament in the original Greek? We do not find any trace of the use of the original in the two books Quaestiones Evangeliorum nor in the Quaestiones septemdecim in evangelium secundum Matthaeum. Still more strange is it that the lengthy work In Iohannis evangelium tractatus seems to have been executed with very little reference to the Greek. In it (Tract. 10. 12) occurs the fanciful formation of the word Adam from the initial letters of ἀνατολή quod est Oriens, δύσις quod est Occidens, ἄρκτος quod est Septentrio, μεσημβρία quod est Meridies; also the numerical value of the different letters found in Ἀδάμ as 46, the number of years which was occupied in the building of the temple. In Tract. 38. 11 on Principium of Ioh. 8. 25, he says Principium me credite.

IN GRAECO namque eloquio discernitur quod non potest in Latino. Apud Graecos enim feminini generis est principium. This cannot be said to be a good instance of his consulting the Greek text. A better one is found in Tract. 115. 4, where on the *in hoc natus sum* of Joh. 18. 37 he says *ad hoc natus sum*.... In Graeco namque evangelio nihil est huius locutionis ambiguum, where he had evidently referred to the Greek text *εἰς τοῦτο γενένημαι*. In Tract 100. 1 he does comment on the different renderings of the word *δοξάσει* of Ioh. 19. 14, and again in Tract. 105. 3 on *δόξασον* in the Greek text of John 17. 1. Lastly, in Tract. 117. 2, on the *παρασκευή* of John 19. 14. With such trifling exceptions this work on John appears to have been written without reference to the Greek text. It is true Augustine may have consulted the Greek text without having thought it necessary to make any more remarks than those given above. But this is by no means probable, as surely he would have found, had he consulted the Greek text, some things better worth a remark than those which he has chosen; for example he did not remark upon the *ἀγαπᾶν* and *φιλεῖν* of John 21. 15 sq.

In addition to this we have evidence that he neglected the Greek text outside of the gospel of John while writing the Tractatus. In Tract. 79. 1 he gives Heb. 11. 1 as *Est autem fides sperantium substantia*; thus by *sperantium*, which is the best attested reading here, and occurs again in Tract. 95. 2, Augustine translates, or acquiesces in the translation of, *τῶν ἐλπίζομένων* of the Greek text—an obviously incorrect rendering which he could not have omitted to notice if he had consulted the Greek. The vulgate more correctly renders it *sperandarum rerum*. In Tract. 97. 4 he gives *profanas verborum novitates evita* for 2 Tim. 2. 16, mis-translating *κενοφωνίας* as *καινοφωνίας*, and *καινοφωνίας* was read here but on very inferior manuscript authority. It is more likely that Augustine has not carefully examined the Greek

as he repeats the same error in Sermo 299. 12; the vulgate renders it correctly *vaniloquia*. In Tract. 104. 3 he gives another instance of his not having examined the Greek text, as he writes in *gloria* for *εἰς δόξαν* of Phil. 2. 11. If he had consulted the Greek text he would easily have escaped the difficulty which he found in *adducunt ergo Iesum ad Caiapham in praetorium* — the Itala of Ioh. 18. 28. He says *Sed si ad Caiapham cur in praetorium?* The Greek text ἀπὸ τοῦ Καϊάφα εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον would have removed all difficulty and saved him the trouble of finding an explanation to suit the Latin words. In regard to this verse he has shown the same unnecessary perplexity in *De consensu evangelistarum* 3. 7. 28. The vulgate correctly renders a *Caiapha*.

In the rest of Augustine's works on the New Testament books there is the same lack of evidence of his employment of the Greek text. These works are the *Expositio quarundam propositionum ex epistola ad Romanus*, the incomplete work *Epistolae ad Romanos expositio* and the *Expositio epistolae ad Galatas*. We should have looked for evidences of an acquaintance with the original specially in the two last named works, and the absence of such is all the more striking if we read, for example, Jerome's Commentary on Matthew or the Epistle to the Galatians, in both of which he was fully conversant with the original language.

The same neglect to use the text of the Greek New Testament may be seen in the work *De consensu evangelistarum*. For example in 2. 30. 72 on *Invicem onera vestra portate* and *Unusquisque enim proprium onus portabit* (Galat. 6. 2, 6. 5) he says, *Nisi oneris nomen sub diversis significationibus acceperis, procul dubio putabis eundem sibi in loquendo esse contrarium*. If he had known the Greek it would not have been necessary for him to assume the words *onera* and *onus* here are to be taken in different senses. He would have found two distinct words in the Greek text:

τὰ βάρη (verse 2) and τὸ ἴδιον φορτίον (verse 5). In his *Expositio epistulae ad Galatas*, 58 and 59, he does not notice any difference or contradiction at all. In *De consensu evangelistarum* 3 7. 27 we have noticed his difficulty about *ad Caiapham in praetorium*. See also 3. 24. 65 for his difficulty about *Mat. 28. 1*.

But though Augustine in all the above named works shows little or no acquaintance with the Greek text, we know from other facts that he could and did consult it. This we should naturally expect him to do in the New Testament text when we know, as shown above, that he had a considerable knowledge of the Septuagint Greek, and could with a certain amount of facility consult that text. Augustine in a letter to Jerome in which he tries to dissuade him from translating from the Hebrew, and asks him to be satisfied with correcting the Septuagint text, also expresses his appreciation of Jerome's new version of the gospels, thus: *Proinde non parvas Deo gratias agimus de opere tuo quo evangelium ex Graeco interpretatus es, quia paene in omnibus nulla offensio est cum Scripturam Graecam contulerimus* (Ep. 71. 4. 6. BE vol. 2. 243). From these words of Augustine himself we infer that he compared Jerome's version of the gospels with the Greek original, or he compared at least enough of that version to pass judgment. He also seems while so doing to have had a judgment of his own in the matter. He would agree that Jerome was correct in most points (*paene in omnibus nulla offensio est*), but not absolutely all. The above cited words in themselves would seem to be evidence enough for Augustine's ability to read, and for his actual reading of, the Greek of the New Testament.

But there is more evidence yet from actual examples of his having used or known the Greek text. In DCD XIII. 24 he discusses the difference between *πνεῦμα* and *πνοή* with reference to the Greek text of *Gen. 2. 7* and of *Ioh. 20. 22* to prove that *Inspiravit Deus in faciem eius*

spiritum (πνοήν) vitae was a different act from Accipite spiritum (πνεῦμα) sanctum: and for the same discussion he cites 1 Cor. 2. 11, Matt. 28. 19, John 4. 24 evidently with the knowledge of the Greek text in these places. In Ep. 149. 28 he notices the omission in Col. 2. 18 of the negative in some MSS, evidently meaning Greek MSS. Compare also Ep. 193. 10 on different readings of 1 Cor. 15. 36, quod in plerisque codicibus legitur 'omnes resurgemus'. . . . Et quod nonnulli codices habent 'omnes dormiemus.' In DCD XX. 19 he approves of the rendering in templum Dei rather than in templo Dei in 2 Thess. 2. 4, sicut in Graeco est. Here he had consulted the Greek text εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ. In Quaest. in Ex. 51 he shows a familiarity with the words of the Greek text of the New Testament; has autem dicit 'progenies' Latinus interpres quas γενεὰς Graeci vocant, quae in evangelio 'generationes' appellantur. Again in Quaest. in Ex. 114 when commenting on the rendering of αἰσθήσεως in Ex. 28. 3 he says ibi (i. e. Hebr. 5. 14) enim quod posuit 'sensus' Graecus habet αἴσθησις, the Greek word in Heb. 5. 14 being αἰσθητήρια. In Quaest. in Levit. 20 he writes apostolus autem ubi dicit 'si praeoccupatus fuerit homo in aliquo delicto,' παραπτώματι Graecus habet, which is the word in the Greek text of Galat. 6. 1. He was acquainted with the Greek text of Eph. 5. 27 as we learn from Quaest. in Levit. 41: Posset ergo quod ad solum colorem attinet σπῖλον dicere quo verbo usus est apostolus ubi ait de ecclesia: 'Non habentem maculam aut rugam.' In Quaest. in Deut. 39 while commenting on the τὸν πονηρὸν of Deut. 24. 7 he recalls the similar expression in 1 Cor. 5. 13 auferte malum ex vobis ipsis. Nam Graecus habet τὸν πονηρὸν Nec ait τὸ

πονηρὸν, id est 'hoc malignum,' sed τὸν πονηρὸν quod est 'hunc malignum.' In Ennar. in Ps. 118 sermo 15. 8 (verse 56) on iustitias tuas exquisivi he quotes from Rom. 10. 3 ignorantes Dei iustitiam and then draws a distinction between δικαιοσύνας and δικαιώματα, which latter word occurs in the verse (56) on which he is commenting, the former in the Greek text of Rom. 10. 3. He must therefore have been familiar with the Greek of Rom. 10. 3.

Compare also Contra Faustum Manichaeum 11. 4 qui factus est ex semine David secundum carnem . . . quia nulla in eo variat codicum auctoritas. Etsi enim in quibusdam Latinis exemplaribus non legitur 'factus' sed 'natus ex semine David,' cum Graeci 'factus' habeant, unde non ad verbum sed ad sententiam transferre voluit dicendo 'natum' Latinus interpret. Here again he has consulted the Greek text (Rom. 1. 3) τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ κατὰ σάρκα.

In an epistle to Paulinus he criticises the translation of the Greek of 2 Tim. 2. 1. Secundum Graecum enim eloquium discernenda sunt: nam nostri interpretes vix reperiuntur qui ea diligenter et scienter transferre curaverint . . . sed pro eo quod in Latino est 'obsecro' ille Graece dixit παρακαλῶ; pro eo vero quod Latinus vester habet 'obsecrationes' ille posuit δεήσεις (Ep. 149. 2. 17; compare also ibid. 13. 14).

In Sermo 180. 5. 5 on quotidie morior per vestram gloriam of 1 Cor. 15. 31 he comments: iuratio est, non quasi sic ait 'per vestram gloriam morior,' quasi vestra gloria me facit mori, . . . Ambiguitatem Graecus sermo dissolvit. In-

spicitur in epistola Graeca et invenitur ibi iuratio quae non est ambigua *νῆ τὴν ὑμετέραν καύχῃσιν. Νῆ τὸν θεὸν* ubi Graecus dixerit iurat. Quotidie auditis Graecos et qui Graece nostis *νῆ τὸν θεόν*; quando dicit *νῆ τὸν θεόν* iuratio est per Deum.

In Sermo 169. 1 he shows that he was familiar with the different readings *θεοῦ* and *θεῷ* in the Greek text of Phil. 3. 3 and gave his preference to the former reading: qui spiritui Dei servimus. Scio plerosque codices habere 'qui spiritu Deo servimus.' Quantum autem inspicere potuimus plures Graeci hoc habent 'qui spiritui Dei servimus.'

In De sermone Domini in monte 1. 9. 22 he gives qui irascitur fratri suo sine causa (*εἰκῇ*); but in Retract. 1. 19. he has changed his mind and writes qui irascitur fratri suo. Codices Graeci non habent 'sine causa.'

He was familiar with the question as to *ἐν τῷ φανερώ* in the Greek text of Matt. 6. 4, for in De sermone Domini in monte 2. 2. 9 he says: multa Latina exemplaria sic habent 'Et Pater tuus qui videt in abscondito, reddet tibi palam': sed quia in Graecis quae priora sunt non invenimus 'palam,' non putavimus hinc esse aliquid disserendum.

But Augustine did not always consult the original text. Had he done so he would not have fallen into some errors of which he is guilty, nor would he have laid undue stress on the Latin versions of different texts. For example on John 19. 34 (In Ioh. evang. tract 120. 2) unus militum lancea latus eius 'aperuit,' he says Vigilanti verbo evangelista usus est, ut non diceret latus eius 'percussit,' aut 'vulneravit' aut quid aliud, sed 'aperuit.' Augustine would not have thus emphasized

'a p e r u i t' if he had only consulted the original where he would have found *ἐνυξεν*, for which 'p e r c u s s i t' would have been a more correct rendering, though it would not fully express the original. It is not at all probable that here Augustine examined the Greek text and found *ἤνοιξεν* which is indeed given by one MS.

From Augustine's own statement cited above, and from the examples of his familiarity with the Greek text here given, we conclude that he was to a certain extent conversant with the original text of the New Testament ; or at least he could evidently without much difficulty consult a text where he thought it necessary, and could thereby correct or confirm his *Itala* version. Had we no examples whatever for his having gone to the original in the New Testament, still we should conclude from his ability to examine the Septuagint that he could make use of the Greek text of the New Testament, and in addition to this presumption we have the positive evidence just cited.

4. Fourth, we turn next to Augustine's use of Greek in his controversial writings. In these, too, we shall find that he has a limited, but fairly accurate, working knowledge of that language which serves him in time of need.

Compare *Contra Cresconium Donatistam* 1. 13. 16 sq., where he discusses the meaning of *διαλεκτική*. In *ibid* 14. 17 he says *Nomen quippe Graecum est dialectica quae, si usus admitteret, fortasse Latine 'disputatoria' vocaretur, sicut grammaticam litteraturam Latine linguae utriusque doctissimi appellaverunt. Sicut enim a litteris denominata est grammatica quoniam Graece γράμματα litterae dicuntur, sic a disputatione dialectica nomen accepit, quoniam disputatio Graece διαλογία vel διάλεξις appellatur. In ibid 14. 18 Habes in hoc eodem testimonio quod de actibus apostolorum commemoravi,*

(Acts 17. 17) where διέλέγετο occurs. He also cites Acts 20. 9 (διαλεγόμενον), Ps. 103. 34 (διαλογή) and Is. 1. 18 (διελεγχθώμεν) and adds et multis aliis divinarum Scripturarum locis lege ubi inveneris hoc verbum et inspice codices Graecos in eisdem testimoniis sanctarum Scripturarum et videbis unde sit appellata dialectica. Augustine had evidently examined all such passages himself in the original in order to refute his adversary; and he relied on his knowledge of Greek, whether extensive or inconsiderable, in doing so.

Contra Gaudentium Donatistam 1. 5. 6, Quod enim quidam interpretati sunt, 'sapientissimum omnium bestiarum,' 'prudentissimum' potius Graeci codices habent, unde in Latinam linguam scriptura illa translata est. Having here (Gen. 3. 1) examined the LXX he found φρονιμώτατος and thus spoke with authority.

Compare Contra litteras Petiliani 2. 38. 91, where he states his contention without hesitation, Et ego quidem Graecae linguae perparum assecutus sum et prope nihil; non tamen impudenter dico me nosse ὅλον non esse 'unum' sed 'totum,' et καθ' ὅλον 'secundum totum.' Such a statement as this, it is true, entailed only a very limited knowledge.

In Ad Orosium contra Priscillianistas et Origenistas 5. 5 on ite in ignem aeternum he says Nec movere debet ut hoc loco 'aeternum' pro 'diuturno' accipiamus, quod alibi scriptum est 'In aeternum et in saeculum saeculi.' Latinus quippe interpres noluit dicere 'in aeternum et in aeternum aeterni.' Sed quoniam id quod αἰὼν Graece dicitur et 'saeculum' et 'aeternum' interpretari potest

commodius alii interpretes transtulerunt 'In saeculum et in saeculum saeculi.' Sed non hoc dictum est ubi dictum est 'Ite in ignem aeternum.' Non enim dictum est αἰῶνα sed αἰώνιον quod si a saeculo declinatum esset 'saeculare' Latine diceretur non 'aeternum'

But the best examples of Augustine's controversial employment of Greek occur in the work *Contra Iulianum Pelagianum* I. 6. 22. Here Augustine is discussing the question of infant baptism against Julian, who had cited the words of John Chrysostom, and by his own interpretation had tried to make them teach his view. Augustine consulted the words of Chrysostom and pointed out the incorrectness of Julian's translation. Ego ipsa verba Graeca quae a Iohanne dicta sunt ponam Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ παῖδια βαπτίζομεν καὶ τοὶ ἁμαρτήματα οὐχ ἔχοντα, quod est Latine 'Ideo et infantes baptizamus quamvis peccata non habentes.' Vides certe non ab eo dictum esse 'parvulos non coinquinatos esse peccato sive peccatis,' sed 'non habere peccata': intellige 'propria' et nulla contentio est. And again against the same opponent *ibid.* I. 6. 26. he says Quid enim apertius quam id quod ibi dixit 'Venit semel Christus et paternis nos cautionibus invenit astrictos quas conscripsit Adam. Ille initium obligationis ostendit, peccatis nostris fenus accrevit.' Audistine hominem in fide Catholica et eruditum et erudientem, distinguentem debitum paterni chirographi quod haereditarium nobis inhaesit, ab eis debitis quorum per nostra peccata fenus accrevit? Audis

quid parvulis in baptismo relaxetur qui nondum propria debita contraxerunt, nec tamen a paterno chirographo immunes esse potuerunt? Verba quippe eius non interpretata sic leguntur in Graeco: Ἐρχεται ἅπαξ ὁ Χριστὸς, εὖρεν ἡμῶν χειρόγραφον πατρῶον ὃ τι ἔγραφεν ὁ Ἀδὰμ· ἐκεῖνος τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰσήγαγεν τοῦ χρείου, ἡμεῖς τὸν δανεισμὸν ἠϋξήσαμεν ταῖς μεταγενεστέραις ἀμαρτίαις. Quae verbum e verbo interpretata sic se habent: 'Venit semel Christus, invenit nostrum chirographum paternum quod scripsit Adam. Ille initium induxit debiti, nos fenus auximus posterioribus peccatis.' Numquid contentus fuit dicere 'paternum chirographum' nisi adderet 'nostrum'?

Though Augustine was able in these two passages to examine the original for the purposes of controversy, we should not assume that therefore he could read any or all of the Greek fathers. Some considerations mentioned above forbid us to think he could do so; besides the Greek in both of these passages happens to be plain and easy, so as to cause no difficulty to one who possessed only a very limited reading knowledge.

5. Fifth, a few other facts remain to be considered. In Conf. 4. 16. 28 Augustine writes Et quid mihi proderat quod annos natus ferme viginti, cum in manus meas venissent Aristotelica quaedam quas appellant decem categorias — quarum nomine, cum eas rhetor Carthaginien-sis, magister meus, buccis tyfo crepantibus commemorat et alii qui docti habebantur, tamquam in nescio quid magnum et divinum suspensus inhiabam — legi eas solus et intellexi?

Of course these *Aristotelica quaedam* were neither Aristotle's work nor written in Greek. *Decem categoriae* is not the name of any genuine work of Aristotle. This pseudo-Aristotelian production was not written in Greek, else Augustine would hardly have read it, and it was, in fact, a Latin book. Moreover, he says it came into his hands when he was almost twenty years of age—at which age, so far as we can make out, his knowledge of Greek was altogether inadequate to read such a philosophical treatise; or indeed a treatise of any kind, and it may be doubted whether his knowledge of Greek in later years would have been sufficient to ensure his reading Greek philosophical works.

In regard to Augustine's use of Epiphanius, we cannot be quite certain whether he read him in Greek or through a version. Epiphanius was styled *πεντάλωσσος* from his knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Syriac and Egyptian; but his *Panarion* on heresies and his *anakephalaiosis* of the same were both written in Greek. Augustine describes his work in the introduction to *De Haeresibus*. (BE. VII. 23.) *Noster vero Epiphanius Cyprius episcopus, abhinc non longe humanis rebus exemptus, de octoginta haeresibus loquens sex libros etiam ipse conscripsit, historica narratione memorans omnia, nulla disputatione adversus falsitatem pro veritate decertans. Breves sane sunt hi libelli et si in unum redigantur, nec ipse erit nostris vel aliorum quibusdam libris longitudine comparandus.* Augustine mentions him in several places in the *De Haeresibus*, (10. 22. 32. 41. 42. 43. 45. 49. 50. 51. 57. 81). From this we would infer that Augustine consulted Epiphanius, either in the original or in a version, in his composition of the *De Haeresibus*. He speaks of him again in a letter to *Quodvultdeus* (Ep. 222) *Scrispsit hinc etiam Graece episcopus Cyprius Epiphanius utriusque*

temporis haereses colligens octoginta complexus est. . . . cum Epiphanium Philastrio doctiorem invenerimus Vide ergo ne forte librum sancti Epiphanii tibi mittere debeam; ipsum enim arbitror Philastrio doctius hinc locutum, qui possit apud Carthaginem in Latinam linguam verti facilius atque commodius, ut tu potius praestes nobis quod quaeris. From these words it seems natural to infer that there did not exist a Latin version of the Panarion or the epitome of the Panarion which Augustine might consult. Yet he seems to be familiar with the contents of Epiphanius' work on heresies. It seems probable then that Augustine read the epitome of the Panarion in Greek; but of this we cannot be certain.

In regard to Plotinus and Porphyry there can hardly be any question that he did not read them in the original. He was familiar with both these authors and quotes from them. In DCD XIX. 23 he gives a quotation from the ἐκ λόγιων φιλοσοφίας of Porphyry, ut ipsa verba eius quem ad modum ex Graeca lingua in Latinam interpretata sunt, ponam. In these words Augustine is not referring to his own translation of the passage, but gives it from some version of Porphyry which he had before him. He does not, it is true, mention the name of any author of a version either of Porphyry or of Plotinus, though so thoroughly conversant with the writings of these two Platonists. Dr. Philip Schaff (Saint Augustin, Melancthon, Neander, N. Y., 1886, p. 88) says: "He probably read Plotinus and Porphyry in the original." But from the extent of Augustine's knowledge of Greek, which we have shown above, and from the limited use he made of Greek, it is unlikely that he should have read either Porphyry or Plotinus in the original. His knowledge of both was entirely through Latin versions. While there is absolute lack of evidence that Augustine read Plato in the original, while he

made so comparatively limited use of the LXX, while he seems to have preferred translations on all occasions, while he did not consider himself equal to the task of reading the Greek fathers on the subject of the Trinity, would he, in all probability, be able to read the philosophic writings of Porphyry and Plotinus? We do not think so, but believe, as stated above (p. 239), that both Porphyry and Plotinus must be referred to the *quosdam libros Platoniorum quos Victorinus quondam rhetor urbis Romae . . . in Latinam linguam trans-tulisset* of Conf. 8. 2. 3.

What does Augustine mean by the words of sermo 225. 3. 3, *ad infantes: — Inveni te Latinum, Latinum tibi proferendum est verbum. Si autem Graecus esses Graece tibi loqui deberem et proferre ad te verbum Graecum?* Does this mean that Augustine here implies that he could speak Greek to the children if they were Greek? He is referring simply to the propriety of speaking Latin to Latin children, telling them that in the same way if they were Greeks he ought (*deberem*) to speak Greek to them, without hinting whether he himself understood Greek enough to speak it.

Having thus completed our examination of the works of Augustine with a view to discover the extent of his knowledge of Greek, we have seen that he himself claims to have known very little about Greek, that on all occasions he seems to have preferred a Latin version of a Greek author, that he did not consider his knowledge of Greek extensive enough to make a large reading acquaintance with original writings of the Greek fathers, that he did not read even his favorite Platonists in the original, that he sometimes made mistakes in his use of Greek. On the other hand we have found that there is a large number of single Greek words and Greek phrases in his works, that he could with a considerable amount of precision distinguish between Greek synonyms—nearly all of them technical terms, that he was

by no means ignorant of the derivation of Greek words, that he was conversant with and could consult for the simpler and primary critical and exegetical purposes the Septuagint version, or at least portions of it—the Heptateuch and Psalms, that from the LXX he could confirm or correct the Itala; that he knew something of the original language of the New Testament—though apparently not to the same extent as that of the Septuagint; that from the New Testament Greek text he occasionally ventured to correct his Latin version; that for controversial purposes he regarded his knowledge of Greek as sufficient to presume upon it in order to confute his opponent; that he perhaps read the epitome of the Greek work of Epiphanius on heresies in the original.

In his commentary on Job he seems not to have consulted the LXX, and in his works on the New Testament we are disappointed to find so little use made of the Greek text.

After all the evidence given above, it would be very far from the truth to assert Augustine knew little or nothing about Greek. In his early days this may have been so. But Augustine later on applied himself to the study, and no doubt a man of his earnest temperament would spare no efforts to master that language for practical purposes. We may say then that Augustine's knowledge of Greek was different at different times, or rather that it increased with his years and his use of it. That he was not ignorant of the advantages and value of such a study we may see from *De doctrina Christiana* 2. 13. 19: *non apparet (sententia) nisi in ea lingua inspiciatur quam interpretantur; et plerumque a sensu auctoris devius aberrat interpres si non sit doctissimus; aut linguarum illarum ex quibus in Latinam Scriptura pervenit petenda cognitio est*, so also *ibid.* 2. 14. 21 and 2. 15. 22 (*ad fin.*), *Latini ergo codices Veteris Testamenti, si necesse fuerit, Graecorum auctoritate emendandi sunt Libros autem*

Novi Testamenti si quid in Latinis varietatibus titubat, Graecis cedere oportere non dubium est, et maxime qui apud ecclesias doctiores et diligentiores reperiuntur.

We cannot, therefore, limit Augustine throughout his after life to the little acquaintance with Greek of his school days. The disgust for the study of Greek arising out of the bad method employed by his teacher evidently did not continue.

Clausen's examination of Augustine's writings with a view to determine his knowledge of Greek was not sufficiently comprehensive, and some important passages he has failed to note. He concludes his investigation thus: In his observandis corrigendis que, si a paucis admodum discesseris, Augustinum verum feliciter assecutum esse neminem fugit; quare tantum, si quid video, abest ut ignarus linguae Graecae dici debeat, ut res grammaticas bene edoctus et subtilis verborum indagator existimandus sit. At facile tamen patet cognitionem hanc, quae ultra elementa linguae non prodeat, nullo modo sufficere ad libros Graecos nedum eos qui dialecto Hellenistica conscripti sunt, intelligendos. (Aurelius Augustinus Hipp. Sacrae scripturae Interpres p. 39). The latter part of this conclusion is too strong, even against Augustine's limited knowledge of Greek. Such an opinion as that of Clausen is at variance with the facts which have been given above. Augustine's knowledge of Greek *did* certainly extend ultra elementa linguae and Clausen's other statement nullo modo sufficere ad libros Graecos nedum eos qui dialecto Hellenistica

conscripti sunt intelligendos. is also equally erroneous.

Reuter (*Augustinische Studien*. Gotha 1887. pp. 170-182) has given the question of the extent of Augustine's knowledge of Greek a fuller and better treatment than Clausen, though he has not exhausted the material. He has taken different passages from those given by Clausen and collected other evidence as he says: "Die Stellen, welche er zu diesem Behufe gesammelt hat, sind andere, als diejenigen, welche ich gefunden habe. Beide Sammlungen können einander ergänzen." (p. 171, footnote 2). His conclusions are fairer and more liberal to Augustine's knowledge of Greek: "Er war jedenfalls imstande, nicht bloss Wörter, sondern auch ganze Sätze zu verstehen, wenn auch nicht ohne Anstrengung, nicht ohne in Irrungen zu geraten, nicht ohne Aufwand von Zeit. Um diesen sich zu ersparen, griff er offenbar für gewöhnlich zu einer lateinischen Version, wenn diese vorhanden, ein Exemplar derselben ihm zugänglich war. In Fällen aber, wo er in dieser Unverständliches oder Anstössiges fand, verglich er den griechischen Urtext. Ich bezweifle somit durchaus nicht, dass er fähig gewesen wäre, wenn auch mit Mühe, ein vollständiges griechisches Buch auszulegen, falls damit ein dringendes persönliches Bedürfnis zu stillen wäre" (p. 178-179). The facts given above bear out these statements of Reuter. He has arrived at a conclusion which I consider correct and well supported, though he has not exhausted all the evidence and has omitted to mention some important notices in the writings of Augustine relevant to the subject.

In finding the extent of Augustine's acquaintance with Greek I have attempted to collect every important statement of his own in regard to Greek and every use of Greek—the most important of which have been given above—to be found in the *Confessions*, in the *City of God*, in all his exegetical and controversial works and in the *De Trinitate*, *De doctrina Christiana*, *De sermone Domini in monte*, *De haeresibus*, *De consensu evangelistarum*, *Retractationes*, *Sermones* and *Epistulae*.

In conclusion, this investigation into the data, from which a true estimate of Augustine's knowledge of Greek may be gained, does not by any means warrant us in concluding that the great North African father had a mere elementary knowledge of Greek, confined only to the school rudiments and to an acquaintance with a few words and derivations and passages. His knowledge of Greek was imperfect, limited and incomplete, but cannot be described as merely elementary: it was altogether less than his ability to use it; his method of employing it was more perfect than his knowledge of it was extensive. Besides we have reason to believe that he could have made more use of his Greek than he did. The fact that he used the Septuagint in the *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* and also in the *Locutiones* and more or less in the *Enarrationes in Psalmos* proves that he could also have consulted it throughout on the book of Job if he had cared to do so. And we may gather from the few examples of his employment of the Greek text of the New Testament that he could have used it more extensively if he had felt so inclined. The fact that Augustine could have done so, but has not done so, leads to conclude that his knowledge of Greek was not so extensive that he could use it with ease; but he has given us abundant examples of having called his knowledge of Greek into frequent service, so that we cannot say it amounted to little.

On the other hand we may not exaggerate his knowledge of Greek. While we learn from his exegetical and controversial works that he had a considerable knowledge, the fact that he did not employ Greek more, especially in the former class of works, shows that his Greek was not very extensive.

This is further borne out by the consideration that Augustine's serviceable Greek knowledge appears to have been limited entirely to Biblical and Patristic Greek. His largest field in Greek learning was the Greek of the Septuagint, next in order comes his knowledge of the Greek of the New Testament, and finally, but a very small amount of Patristic Greek. Of the Greek classics he was almost entirely ignorant and did not consult any of them in the original.

SOME THESES.

I. New or hitherto unnoticed fragments:—

A. Add to the fragments of Cicero (De Fato):—

(1) DCD V. 3 (p. 193. 32), nobile illud commentum de figuli rota, quod respondisse ferunt Nigidium hac quaestione turbatum, unde et Figulus appellatus est. Dum enim rotam figuli vi quanta potuit intorsisset, currente illa bis numero de atramento tamquam uno eius loco summa celeritate percussit: deinde inventa sunt signa, quae fixerat, desistente motu, non parvo intervallo in rotae illius extremitate distantia. Sic, inquit, in tanta rapacitate caeli, etiamsi alter post alterum tanta celeritate nascatur, quanta rotam bis ipse percussi, in caeli spatio plurimum est: hinc sunt, inquit, quaecunque dissimillima perhibentur in moribus casibusque geminorum.

(2) DCD V. 5 (p. 197. 13), illud a nonnullis praedicatur, quod quidam sapiens horam elegit, qua cum uxore concumberet, unde filium mirabilem gigneret.

- B. Editors of Cicero's works have overlooked the fragment expressly attributed to Cicero by Augustine in DCD VIII. 19 (p. 349. 5), *quod hac pestifera scelerataque doctrina fructus alieni in alias terras transferri perhibentur, nonne in duodecim tabulis, id est Romanorum antiquissimis legibus, Cicero commemorat esse conscriptum et ei qui hoc fecerit supplicium constitutum.*
- c. Add to the hitherto acknowledged fragments of Varro, De Rebus Divinis (book 16 De diis selectis): DCD IV. 10 (p. 159. 20), *Cui (Vestae) Phoenices donum dabant de prostitutione filiarum, antequam eas iungerent viris.*
- II. So far as the testimony of Augustine's writings is concerned, his attitude to the fall of Rome and the state of the Roman empire of his day was one neither of intense and deeply patriotic feeling, nor of heartless indifference, though nearer to the latter than to the former. To say the least he appears surprisingly calm in the face of so terrible a calamity. Augustine's pride in Rome was centered in her achievements of the *past*, not in her *present*. He was more of a Christian than a Roman.
- III. Augustine sometimes has a way of disguising or referring to particular authorities by general or indefinite plural expressions, e. g., DCD II. 22 (p. 83. 22) *secundum eorum auctores doctissimos* for Sallust. DCD II. 23 (p. 86. 28) *eos qui scripserunt*; DCD III. 31 (p. 144. 30), *apud eos*; (p. 144. 34) *scripserunt*; (p. 145. 5) *litteris mandaverunt*, for Livy.

DCD III. 15 (p. 116. 14) *quidam scriptores*; DCD V. 5 (p. 197. 13) *a nonnullis*; DCD V. 20 (p. 231. 6), *philosophi* for Cicero. DCD III. 19 (p. 128. 17) *his quoque fatentibus* for Florus. DCD IV. 10, IV. 24, *inquiunt*; DCD IV. 26, *a doctissimis*; DCD VII. 9, *inquiunt* for Varro. DCD VIII. 14, *inquiunt* for Apuleius. DCD IX. 1 (p. 368. 17) *fateantur* for Lactantius. It should be noticed, however, that in such instances Augustine uses these plurals also in a kind of generic sense. He means the particular writers whom he has in mind to stand as representatives of the pagans generally.

- IV. On the testimony of Augustine's works he had a limited working knowledge of biblical Greek, a very slight working knowledge of patristic Greek and apparently no working knowledge of classical Greek.
- V. The lost Hortensius of Cicero must be regarded as one of Augustine's chief literary authorities for the history of philosophy.
- VI. Augustine alone has preserved for us the information of the sack of Nola by the Goths after that of Rome in 410.
- VII. Note the following mistakes in facts in the first ten books of the *City of God*:
 - A. Proved mistakes.
 1. DCD I. 2, *legant et proferant aliquem ducem barbarorum praecepisse, ut inrupto oppido nullus feriretur, qui in illo vel illo templo fuisset inventus.* (See note p. 5. 30.)

2. DCD I. 5, Cato, sicut scribit Salustius. (See note p. 9. 31.)

3. DCD I. 34, Romulus et Remus asylum constituisse perhibentur. (See note p. 50. 31.)

4. DCD II. 16, non tamen perhibetur easdem leges a numinibus accepisse. (See note p. 72. 9.)

5. DCD II. 17, decem milibus aeris damnaretur. (See note p. 73. 21.)

6. DCD II. 23, Metellus . . . qui habuit quinque filios consulares. (See note p. 86. 11.)

7. DCD III. 5, adulteras autem feminas, quamvis aliqua damnatione, nulla tamen morte plectebant. (See note p. 102. 11.)

8. DCD III. 13, ipso interfecto ut maior deus esset regnum solus obtinuit. (See note p. 112. 17.)

9. DCD III. 20, nam etiam suorum cadaveribus a nonnullis pasta perhibetur. (See note p. 130. 13.)

10. DCD V. 18, L. Valerium qui in suo defunctus est consulatu (after Eutropius.—See note p. 227. 2.)

11. DCD V. 22, quintus ei annus finem dedit (after Eutropius. See note p. 234. 13.)

12. DCD VIII. 14, nihil boni dixit. (See note p. 342. 34.)

13. DCD IX. 4, *πάθη* . . . quidam vero sicut iste (Cicero) de Graeco expressius, *passiones* vocant. (See note p. 371, 9.)

B. Possible but unproved mistakes.

1. DCD II. 6, F u g a l i a . (See note p. 59. 25.)
2. DCD II. 23, M a r i u s p e r f r u i d i i s i r a t i s . (See note p. 85. 23.)
3. I n i p s i u s a u t e m M a r i i o c u l i s c o n t i n u o f e r i e b a n t u r , q u i b u s s a l u t a n t i b u s d e x t e r a m p o r r i g e r e n o l u i s s e t . (See note p. 139. 17.)
4. DCD III. 31, q u a c a l a m i t a t e p e r m o t i m i s e r i c o r d i t e r e u i u s d e m a n n i t r i b u t u m e i r e l a x a v e r e R o m a n i . O c t o g i n t a h o m i n u m m i l i a p e r i s s e r e f e r a n t u r . (See notes p. 144. 29, 145. 3.)

GENERAL ANALYSIS.

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- I. Sources mentioned by Augustine.
- II. Sources not mentioned by Augustine.
 [Conspectus of Literary Sources.]
 [Note on Composition of DCD by A. F. West.]

SECOND PART: ANNOTATIONS TO DCD, I-X, 64-234

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ERRATA.

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Page.	Line from Top.	
10	34	<i>omit period after o d o r e m</i>
22	23	<i>insert in after evidently</i>
31	19. 27. 31	<i>for supra read super</i> (correcting Kuhlmann)
34	14	<i>for libris read liberis</i>
36	16	<i>insert Plotinus before Cicero</i>
45	12	<i>for effosis read effossis</i>
46	14-19	Sallust, and not Florus, is Augustine's authority for the Servile war, as may be argued from other passages in the DCD. See also Jürges, <i>De Sallustii historiarum reliquiis</i> , p. 15.
47	25	<i>for annnos read annos</i>
50	9	<i>insert to after put</i>
54	23	<i>omit only and add Sallust</i>
54	36	<i>omit Florus or Eutropius (?) and add Sallust</i>
61	28	<i>for XVII. read XVIII.</i>
70	14	<i>for praetierunt read praeterierunt</i>
80	33	<i>add probably after was</i>
85	13	<i>for Liviy read Livy</i>
132	18	<i>for 625 read 125</i>
155	23	<i>for Quietum read Quietem</i>
159	18	<i>for Epitone read Epitome</i>
183	27-28	<i>insert BOOK VIII</i>
201	27	My misunderstanding of Augustine's words. He does not mean that Apuleius was tried before Christian judges.
202	19	<i>for Ascelepius read Asclepius</i>
219	16	<i>for Quareit read Quaerit</i>
220	31	<i>for θέλω read θέλω</i>
224	33	<i>for mulierculae read muliercula</i>
244	2	<i>for τελετας read τελετάς</i>
250	10	<i>for χιλιαρχοι read χιλίαρχοι</i>
253	28	<i>for τὸ read τὸ</i>

